



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-145  
Friday  
30 July 1993

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-145

### CONTENTS

30 July 1993

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

#### CENTRAL AFRICA

##### Gabon

President on Mediation in Congolese Crisis, Elections	[Paris International]	1
Congolese Delegations Arrive, Meet President Bongo	[Libreville Radio]	1
Delegation Leaders Comment	[Libreville Radio]	2

#### EAST AFRICA

##### Djibouti

FRUD Says Towns Lost in North, Offensives Under Way	[AFP]	3
---	-------	---

##### Eritrea

Afewerki Denies Rumors of Israeli Military Bases on Islands	[London AL-HAYAH 22 Jul]	3
---	--------------------------	---

##### Kenya

Moi Warns Against Corruption; 3 New Districts Named	[Nairobi Radio]	3
Comments on Foreign Aid	[Nairobi Radio]	4

##### Somalia

USC Official Reports on U.S. Troops' 'Negative Behavior'	[Voice of the Great Somali People]	4
SNA Official: UNOSOM, U.S. Seek To Colonize Country	[Voice of the Great Somali People]	5
Somalis Urged To Hand Over Guns to UN Forces	[AFP]	5
Somalis Said Dying for U.S., Butrus-Ghali's Interests	[Voice of the Great Somali People]	5

##### Uganda

Four Reported Killed in Surprise Rebel Attack	[London International]	6
---	------------------------	---

#### REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

KwaZulu Takes 'Sufficient Consensus' View to Supreme Court	[SAPA]	7
De Klerk, Ramaphosa Comment	[Johannesburg TV]	7
Meyer, DP Respond	[Johannesburg Radio]	8
De Klerk, Buthelezi Comment After 4-Hour Meeting	[SAPA]	8
De Klerk on Role of Transitional Executive Council	[SAPA]	8
NP, AVU, CP Spokesmen Comment on Negotiations	[Johannesburg TV]	9
IFP Leader Buthelezi Interviewed on Negotiations	[Johannesburg TV]	13
Further Reaction to Cape Town Church Killings Reported		19
PAC Said Not Responsible	[SAPA]	19
PAC: ANC Help Offer Dishonest	[Johannesburg Radio]	19
Government Said Partly To Blame	[SAPA]	20
IFP Leader Reportedly Dies of Natural Causes After Arrest	[SAPA]	20
Increasing Calls for COSATU To Break With ANC Alliance	[THE WEEKLY MAIL 23-29 Jul]	20
South African Press Review for 30 Jul	[THE STAR 30 Jul, etc]	21

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Angola

UNITA Radio: U.S. Supplying War Materiel to MPLA [Voz do Galo Negro] .....	23
Correspondents on Military Situation in Cuito, Menongue [Luanda Radio] .....	23
Opposition Leader: Government Must Buy Arms From Abroad [Luanda Radio] .....	23

### Namibia

Walvis Bay Right-Wingers Prefer SWAPO to ANC Government [SAPA] .....	24
Exporter Claims Trading With UNITA Legal [THE NAMIBIAN 26 Jul] .....	24

### Mozambique

Renamo Rejects Draft Electoral Law; Monamo Head Comments [Maputo Radio] .....	25
Renamo Ends Talks Boycott [Maputo Radio] .....	26
More Details on Chissano's Address to Rally in Pemba .....	26
Comments on Counterinsurgency Forces [Maputo Radio] .....	26
Hopes To Meet Dhlakama in August [Maputo Radio] .....	26
Dhlakama Gives 'Priority' To Meeting With Chissano [Maputo Radio] .....	27
Government Sends 50 Soldiers for Training in Zimbabwe [Maputo Radio] .....	27
Renamo To Send 50 Soldiers [Maputo Radio] .....	27

### Zimbabwe

Government Sets Aside Money for Land Acquisition [SAPA] .....	27
Military Share of Budget Viewed [SAPA] .....	27

## WEST AFRICA

### Nigeria

Babangida Receives Catholic Bishops, Legislators on Crisis [Lagos TV] .....	29
NEC Denies Endorsing Decision To Form Interim Government [Lagos Radio] .....	29

## Gabon

### President on Mediation in Congolese Crisis, Elections

LD2907171293 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 29 Jul 93

["Exclusive" interview with Gabonese President Omar Bongo by correspondent Assane Diop; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our guest is Omar Bongo. The Gabonese president today receives in Libreville the representatives of the shadow presidency and the opposition of Congo to try to defuse the crisis. He will work in close collaboration with the mediator designated by President Lissouba and Defense Committee Chairman Damase Ngollo.

President Omar Bongo gave this exclusive interview to RFI on the occasion of this mediation. I remind you that this is the second time President Bongo has become involved in the Congolese crisis, as he succeeded last December in moving the two parties in the conflict closer.

Assane Diop asked why the two parties in the Congolese conflict asked him to try to find a solution to this Congolese crisis:

[Begin recording] [Bongo] They come to me for really simple reasons: because I am related to the actors in Congolese politics by blood ties, by emotional ties, and by alliance ties. I am perhaps the only one who can say what I think without beating around the bush to Lissouba, Sassou, and President Kolelas—and even to Jean-Pierre Tchikaya and even to Prime Minister Yombi. [passage omitted]

[Diop] There is also the OAU point of view. Mr. Sahnoun has been appointed by the OAU to mediate in the conflict?

[Bongo] Yes, well, I would have invited him to join us here if I had thought about it, but it is never too late.

[Diop] How is it that a head of state such as yourself—who has been around for more than 20 years—serves as a mediator in a country such as Congo, engaged in a democratic process?

[Bongo] You say that as if old heads of state are not democrats and cannot move along with the democratic process. I know that there is somebody here in Gabon who said Bongo will never become a democrat. But Bongo will not become a democrat; he is a democrat. The fact that a person remains in power a long time does not mean one becomes senile! As far as I am concerned, I am not. I still have many, many things to give to the future generations. The change in ideas—the change in developments—does not necessarily mean a change in men. Everybody develops and changes.

[Diop] The Congolese are turning to you to settle the problem. Regarding Angola, everyone wanted peace to be established there on the occasion of the holding of the French-African summit in October 1992; however, this was not the case. Today, there is an African arbitrator appointed by the United Nations, who wants the African heads of state to work for peace in Angola. Would you get involved in this issue, too?

[Bongo] If Mr. Blondin Bye—whom I know very well—thinks that he should consult us, this would be a good thing. I do not think a single country would today succeed in reconciling the Angolan fighting brothers. The involvement of all countries of goodwill—and particularly those accepted by the Angolans—is needed.

[Diop] Let us now talk about domestic politics, Mr. President. Presidential elections will be held in five months—in December. Are you calm in the face of this very important event in Gabonese political life and in your own political life?

[Bongo] Elections will certainly be held. But for the moment, I have not expressed myself or decided. I have a passion for what has to be done during the five remaining months. I ask myself whether I will manage to achieve what I assigned myself to do or leave it unfinished. This is my problem. I think when you speak of the absence of Gabon in the latest report of Amnesty International, the answer is there: Gabon is absent because human rights are respected. If human rights are respected, this is because democracy is functioning. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Congolese Delegations Arrive, Meet President Bongo

AB2907133793 Libreville RTG Chaine Nationale Radio Network in French 1200 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Delegations from the Congolese presidential group and opposition coalition are meeting in Libreville today to reach a common stand on the country's current crisis. The two sides have been holding talks with President Bongo, the leading mediator, since this morning. Regis Meunier reports:

[Meunier] The two delegations from the Congolese presidential group and the opposition coalition are indeed in Libreville and holding talks with President Omar Bongo in an attempt to solve their crisis. The presidential group is led by Mr. Christophe Moukoueke. Mr. Bernard Kolelas is representing the coalition opposition, which comprises the Union for Democratic Renewal and the Congolese Labor Party, the former single ruling party. The Congolese mediator, Mr. Raymond Ngollo, is also taking part in the Libreville negotiations at President Bongo's request.

French Cooperation Minister Michel Roussin is also in Libreville and will meet the two delegations to offer his good services on behalf of the French Government to solve the Congolese crisis, which was brought on by the opposition's protest against the 2 May and 6 June early parliamentary election results. [passage omitted]



**Delegation Leaders Comment**

*AB2907223393 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1830  
GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Text] Gabon is currently mediating in the Congolese crisis. The current impasse followed the results of the second round of early legislative elections. President Omar Bongo this morning granted separate audience to the various groups of the Congolese political class. Christophe Moukoueke, leader of the Congolese presidential group, outlined the message of Gabonese President Omar Bongo to Guy-Bertrand Mapangou:

[Begin recording] [Moukoueke] In fact, during this audience we reviewed the Congolese political situation and we tried to brief him on how we see the settlement to this problem. We especially stressed the fact that before coming here, the two sides signed a joint communique in which some pledges were made. We told President Bongo that our most ardent wish—and this is virtually our main demand prior to any real negotiation on the electoral dispute, since this will be the item on the agenda—is that the pledged conditions must be met. These notably are disarmament, collection of weapons held by the Union for Democratic Renewal-Congolese Labor Party alliance supporters, and the removal of roadblocks. In short, peace, security, and order must be restored in Congo.

[Mapangou] Does accepting the mediation offered by President Bongo with ease not somehow mean a disavowal of the OAU?

[Moukoueke] Oh, no, not at all. This is not at all a disavowal. We think we must combine all efforts. This is an additional effort being made by President Bongo, it is an additional contribution and we must seize that opportunity, too. [end recording]

The Congolese opposition, for its part, maintains that the solution to the political impasse can only be achieved through dialogue. The leader of the opposition alliance, Jean-Pierre Thystere-Tchicaya, also gave his views on the issue to our reporter Guy-Bertrand Mapangou.

[Begin recording] [Tchicaya] We have always held that the biggest failure of a politician is to plunge his country into civil war and that we owe it as a duty to the Congolese people, whose sole misfortune has been the confidence they reposed in us, to strive to explore all avenues that will lead to bail the country out of the current crisis.

[Mapangou] Yes, one of the means of bringing the country out of the crisis is disarmament, which is one of the preconditions set by the presidential group. What is holding you and your friends back from ordering your supporters to surrender their arms to the military authorities?

[Tchicaya] Look, we have signed the joint communique. We signed it in all sincerity and we hope that both sides—our brothers of the presidential group and ourselves—will do all in our power to create the necessary conditions that will not only allow the Congolese people to live in peace but also heal the very deep wounds left over by the recent disturbances because, believe me, it is a real tragedy. [end recording]

## Djibouti

### FRUD Says Towns Lost in North, Offensives Under Way

AB2807190093 Paris AFP in French 0947 GMT 28 Jul 93

[Text] Paris, 28 Jul (AFP)—On 28 July in Djibouti, the "Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy [FRUD]" admitted having lost towns and villages under its control in the north of the country to the Army, but claimed that since 12 July it has been launching deadly offensives against the Army.

In a communique issued in Paris, FRUD said the latest and biggest offensive occurred on 25 July in Tadjourah and resulted in the deaths of 17 government soldiers and substantial damage to major barracks. In addition, FRUD said, despite its withdrawal from villages and towns in the north, it has kept its combat forces intact.

The movement of Afar guerrilla forces calls for "vigilance" on the part of "creditors whom President Hassan Gouled has called upon to help bridge the huge financial gap created by the ethnic cleansing war." Djibouti Defense Minister Ahmed Boulaleh Barreh had announced on 10 July that the national Army and security forces had taken control of all positions that were still being held by FRUD's Afar guerrilla forces. The minister added that the generalized offensive launched on 5 July by the government forces "resulted in the total recovery of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Djibouti."

## Eritrea

### Aferwerki Denies Rumors of Israeli Military Bases on Islands

PM2307150093 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
22 Jul 93 pp 1, 4

[Umar Jastinvah report: "Aferwerki: PLO Elements Behind Circulation of Anti-Eritrea Reports"]

[Excerpts] Jeddah— Eritrean President Isayas Aferwerki, who today concludes a visit to Saudi Arabia during which he met with King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, custodian of the two holy mosques, has accused PLO elements of spreading rumors about Israeli military bases on one of Eritrea's Red Sea islands. He said: "After 30 years of struggle for liberation, we will never allow any foreign power to colonize us through military bases or in any other way." In reply to a question from AL-HAYAH at his news conference in Jeddah yesterday, he said that "the establishment of diplomatic relations between Eritrea and Israel is a normal thing. Recognition of a reality does not mean denying the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. We proceed on that basis. Our relations have been inaccurately interpreted. Some elements, whom we know very well, have tried to convince the region's Arab states of that interpretation."

On Sudan, he said "if there are Islamists in Sudan who believe that they can export Islam and control its effect on others, then we tell them that we do not want a new Islam and more preaching." He warned against expansionist ideologies that could destabilize the region.

On the United States, he said: "70 percent of our people depend on food aid, a major part of which comes from the United States... We will tackle our situation, realistically serving only our own interests. The United States and the West are contributing to Eritrea's future." He admitted there are some reservations regarding some Western views, but he did not name any states. [passage omitted]

## Kenya

### Moi Warns Against Corruption; 3 New Districts Named

EA2707211093 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1300 GMT 27 Jul 93

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said the government took the auditor general's report [on the misuse of public funds] seriously and will prosecute all those found to have been implicated in embezzlement of public funds. The president pointed out that those charged with the responsibility of managing public funds must do so with honesty. President Moi said that the government was aware that there were some servants who were not loyal and were known to deliberately involve themselves in activities that undermine the credibility of the government. He stressed that all public servants must remain loyal to the government of the day in order to ensure the effective implementation of its policies.

President Moi was speaking at Maua Stadium during a public rally which marked the inauguration of the new Nyambene District. President Moi at the same time announced the creation of three other new districts, namely Mwingi, Kuria, and Mt. Elgon. President Moi said the creation of the new administrative areas was aimed at facilitating better government services to the people. He also urged wananchi [citizens] to take advantage of closer government administration to improve the economy of their areas.

President Moi said the KANU [Kenya African National Union] government was committed to developing all parts of the country without discrimination. The head of state said that it was high time Kenyans matched their words with their deeds instead of empty rhetoric. He pointed out that Kenyans have to be on the run in development matters if the country's economy was to cope with the ever-growing population. The president said that political slogans alone could not solve the problems facing the people and urged leaders to come up with practical strategies that could improve the welfare of wananchi.

President Moi further said that the government should not be blamed for the rocketing prices of certain commodities as this was a direct result of the liberalization of the economy. The president, however, said the current hardships facing the country could only be tackled by united efforts of all Kenyans, irrespective of party affiliation. He reiterated that it was only Africans who would build their continent, adding that Africans should not expect anyone else to do it. He said that it was unfortunate that in many African countries lust for power and ethnic conflicts had taken the place of development. President Moi appealed to Kenyans to remain united in spite of the current area of pluralism. [passage omitted]

### Comments on Foreign Aid

AB2807210593 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1300 GMT 28 Jul 93

[Excerpts] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today told Kenyans not to over-rely on foreign aid in the development of the country. President Moi further told leaders and government officials to focus their minds more on the available resources instead of over-depending on donor agencies such as IMF and World Bank. The president pointed out that with proper planning and maximum utilization of the locally available resources the country was in a position to sustain itself economically. He further urged agricultural extension officers to guide farmers in the best ways of exploiting all rain seasons to maximize food production. President Moi expressed optimism that with better management of the agricultural sector the country could achieve self-sufficiency in food.

President Moi was speaking at Githongo Market in Meru District during a mammoth public rally.

The president reiterated that with ever-growing population Kenyans had to work even harder in order to cater for their resultant needs. He said every citizen must be committed to serve the nation as true patriots in order to avoid a situation where the country has to beg from outside for survival.

President Moi at the same time took a swipe at a section of the local media for perpetuating tribalism and highlighting issues that were not beneficial to Kenyans. He pointed out that it was the duty of all to ensure that a hopeful future was guaranteed for the present and future generations. President Moi pointed out that a country that allows itself to be torn apart by tribalism cannot plan and execute its development programs. The president said that Kenya, unlike many other countries in Africa, managed to sail smoothly through the turbulence of pluralism because of the good guidance of the KANU [Kenya African National Union] government. President Moi said that although democratic ideals have always been practiced in the country, Kenyans had not become cohesive enough.

The president reiterated that KANU was the only party that had a practical and national approach to issues

affecting Kenyans. He assured wananchi [citizens] that in KANU peace and stability were guaranteed and asked more Kenyans to join the ruling party. He thanked the people of Imenti in Meru District for voting him in and KANU during the last general elections.

During the rally, two opposition councillors (Titus Meru) of Igoji Ward and (Nbaye Ntomwairi) of (Ingoki) defected back to KANU. [passage omitted]

Thousands of jubilant wananchi in Meru district turned up to cheer President Moi today as he travelled to Githongo market to address a public rally. Schoolchildren, choir groups, and wananchi (?joined) the presidential route, waving miniature flags, dancing and singing in praise of the president and the ruling party KANU.

Acknowledging the greetings, President Moi said after its election victory the ruling party KANU had now embarked on the development of the country. He said it was because of his election pledge that he had now created the new Nyambene District in Eastern Province. He said, despite some upsets from the election, the ruling party still stood up to its principles of love, peace, and unity for all Kenyans. The president once again stressed that no-one would build this country but Kenyans themselves. He said democracy was practiced in Kenya long before multiparty politics and asked Kenyans to continue in the same spirit for the well-being of the nation.

### Somalia

#### USC Official Reports on U.S. Troops' 'Negative Behavior'

EA2907222093 Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Professor Isa Mohamed Siad, the foreign affairs secretary of the United Somali Congress [USC] Executive Committee, today gave an account of the attempt by U.S. enemy troops to capture him, and the motives for such heinous acts against Somali citizens.

Addressing national journalists, Prof. Isa Mohamed Siad said that on 27 July, U.S. enemy troops violently tried to capture many officials, including himself, but, thank God, he survived the attempted capture and the enemies failed miserably.

Describing the United States' negative behavior in Somalia, he said: They always engineer fighting and set people against one another to massacre the great Somali society.

He added that individuals speaking on behalf of UNOSOM told lies about the fact-finding mission which came to the country, saying the mission opposed the Somali people. They said this by way of some radio stations, such as the BBC Somali service, which, Prof. Isa said, was putting out colonialist propaganda.



Answering a question as to whether the Somali National Alliance [SNA] had met the U.S. fact-finding mission, Prof. Isa confirmed that the SNA had met the mission, to which it had made clear its stand of wanting the restoration of peace in Somalia and implementation of the Addis Ababa agreements signed by Somali organizations on 27 March 1993, the SNA being ready to resolve any existing conflict peacefully by way of dialogue. However, it was regrettable that individuals wearing UNOSOM shirts wanted to resort to fighting, a futile method which had already failed and would fail again by the grace of God, Prof. Isa said.

Referring to the troops from various countries, Prof. Isa said every country would be held accountable to Somalia and that no country whose troops did good and bad deeds would be forgotten.

In conclusion, the professor called on the Somali people to safeguard their religion, independence, territory and flag, and never accept neo-colonialism because they had been independent for over 30 years.

#### **SNA Official: UNOSOM, U.S. Seek To Colonize Country**

*EA2907155593 Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 28 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] It is clear to everyone that the plans and programs of the UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] and the United States are aimed at subjecting the Somali people and their country to colonialization and at destroying the Islamic religion. In order to implement these plans and other important issues, they are vehemently going all out to do away with all those who removed Siad Barre from the country. These include liberation movements, religious leaders, and all those who they see as having religious and nationalistic values.

This was stated today by a senior Somali National Alliance [SNA] spokesman. The SNA spokesman added that the Unified Task Force, whose mandate has expired, and the current UNOSOM and U.S. officials are equal in lying, breaking promises, looting the natural resources of the country, and annihilating and destroying the lives and property of the Somali people. [passage omitted]

They also do not want to see the Somali people united, loving each other, or general peace in the country. They want the destruction and friction among the Somali people and in the country to continue. The SNA official added that the antipeace policies being implemented in the name of UNOSOM and spearheaded by the United States with colonial objectives can be seen clearly through the savage annihilation of the Somali people. Since 5 June they have attacked politicians, religious leaders, scholars, elders, women, children, refugees, and other members of society without discrimination. An example is the 27 July arrest by U.S. forces of officials and doctors including Professor Isa Mohamed Siad, secretary for foreign affairs of the United Somali Congress Executive Committee and SNA official, who has

recently involved himself seriously in finding ways of bringing peace to Somalia. The SNA official said all this clearly shows that UNOSOM and the United States do not want peace to prevail in Somalia.

The only thing that will satisfy them is the destruction of the Somali people and country in order to fulfill their colonial objectives. For that reason the only option for the Somali people is jihad to safeguard their religion, freedom and dignity, the official said. Everyone should know that the only language colonialists know and clearly understand comes from the barrel of a gun.

#### **Somalis Urged To Hand Over Guns to UN Forces**

*AB3007110093 Paris AFP in English 0819 GMT 30 Jul 93*

[Text] Mogadishu, July 30 (AFP)—United Nations helicopters dropped leaflets here Friday urging Somalis to hand over guns to peacekeeping forces who are still coming under sniper fire in this embattled capital. The pamphlets raised expectations that UN troops were about to step up house-to-house arms sweeps to confiscate arms in south Mogadishu, the stronghold of fugitive warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid where almost everyone is armed.

Somalis and relief officials say small-scale searches in some neighbourhoods by U.S. and Pakistani soldiers have failed to significantly reduce the number of guns. The U.S. Quick Reaction Force seized a 60-millimetre mortar, a 12-bore shotgun, a flare pistol, three swords, five knives and a bayonet in its latest arms sweep Thursday [29 July], spokeswoman Saralynne Snell said. Sergeant Snell told reporters that Tunisian troops had exchanged small arms fire with snipers overnight, "possibly wounding one Somali." Several other minor exchanges of fire were reported. At Mogadishu Airport, Egyptian soldiers arrested three Somalis who allegedly tried to rape a Somali woman in a pick-up truck, Snell said.

#### **Somalis Said Dying for U.S., Butrus-Ghali's Interests**

*EA2907155393 Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 28 Jul 93*

[Station commentary]

[Excerpts] The stupid acts and massacres the United States is carrying out in Somalia were planned long before the arrival of foreign forces spearheaded by the United States at the end of last year. This is clear. [passage omitted]

Other self-explanatory points include the fact that while Butrus-Ghali was foreign minister of his country, he entered into an agreement with murderer Siad Barre to sell agricultural land in the vicinity of the Juba River to Egypt so as to settle about 1 million Egyptian farmers. Butrus-Ghali paid the money. [passage omitted]

Thousands of Somalis are dying for the sole interests of the United States and Butrus-Ghali. [passage omitted]

Every Somali must know that any opposition to the United States that comes to light is punished. It is also important to know that Somali lives are not valuable to the would-be U.S. colonizers. The U.S. forces describe anyone they kill as a bandit. The naked aggressive interference by the United States in Somalia on the basis of alien laws is an experiment to test whether colonialist interests can be implemented in Somalia. [passage omitted]

### Uganda

#### Four Reported Killed in Surprise Rebel Attack

AB3007101593 London BBC World Service in English  
1830 GMT 29 Jul 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It is some weeks now since the Ugandan National Resistance Army, NRA, virtually declared the civil war in northeastern Kumi District over for good and all.

Mopping up operations had officially finished off the remnants of the UPA [Uganda People's Army] rebels. But now there has been a surprise attack. From Kampala, Eppajar Ojulu telexed this report:

In a surprise attack last weekend, the rebels raided the home of a local official 10 miles south of Kumi town and gunned down four people who had gathered there for a funeral. According to the NEW VISION newspaper, the official, Mr. Bosco Okiringi, was an officer in the presidential commission appointed by President Museveni three years ago to pacify the war-torn region. The gunmen also killed Lieutenant Opade, an NRA [National Resistance Army] commander for detachment in the attack.

The week's incident is one of several such incidents reported in Kumi and Soroti Districts. Eyewitnesses were quoted by the NEW VISION newspaper as saying that the killers had taken advantage of the people who had gathered at the late Okiringi's home that Saturday [24 July] night for the funeral of his child. When the gunmen opened fire at random, dozens of people camping in the compound fled in fear. Later, the bodies of the four victims were found lying in pools of blood.



**KwaZulu Takes 'Sufficient Consensus' View to Supreme Court**

*MB2907113393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0959 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Text] Pretoria July 29 SAPA—The kwaZulu government is going to court to challenge the notion and the application of "sufficient consensus", the decision-making mechanism at the multiparty constitutional talks. The action also seeks to invalidate the decisions on setting an election date before agreement has been reached on the form of state. The kwaZulu government filed the action before the Pretoria Supreme Court on Wednesday, according to a statement by the Office of Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi. A date for the hearing has not yet been confirmed.

The court will be asked to set aside the instructions given to the technical committee on constitutional matters on the basis of which "the disgraceful and outrageous interim draft constitution", presently under consideration by the Negotiating Council, has been drafted. "Now that the notion of sufficient consensus is sub judice the kwaZulu government hopes that through the intervention of the courts there will be an opportunity in the negotiating process to reach clarity on what is required to commit the future of our country and to ensure that the vision of federalism and of a final constitution by 1994 is finally submitted to the consideration and scrutiny of the Negotiating Council," read the statement from Mr. Buthelezi's office.

The kwaZulu government said it had been forced to file the application as "a last resort once all the remedies have been exhausted". Since September last year, the statement charged, its demands on the preliminary determination of a form of state, and the establishment of a process of transformation capable of delivering federalism, had been ignored by the government and the African National Congress/SA Communist Party alliance [SACP].

Instead, the process of negotiation "has avoided these issues and very subtly and high-handedly entrenched the notion of a unitary state with possible provincial or regional characteristics and a process of transition centred around the empowerment of a constituent assembly".

The kwaZulu government's request on June 15 for the tabling of a model capable of establishing federalism was rejected and the negotiating council proceeded to set an election date before any agreement was reached on the form of state and on the purpose and finality of such an election. "On that occasion the kwaZulu government objected, and its objection was ignored, to the point that it was forced to walk out."

On June 30, the Negotiating Council decided to instruct the technical committee on constitutional matters to draft a constitution which excluded federalism and

empowers a constituent assembly. The kwaZulu government's objections were again totally disregarded, the statement said. "Therefore it is clear that in the present course of negotiations fundamental decisions on the future of our country can be taken by the ANC/SACP alliance along with the South African Government/National Party [NP] irrespective of whatever the other participants in the process want and irrespective of the true, needs, wants and aspirations of the people of South Africa.

"This has been made possible by the application of the notion of sufficient consensus which no longer reflects the original understanding which brought the participants together, and is now supporting a process in which we are relegated to do nothing more than rubber-stamping the decisions taken by the ANC/SACP alliance and the SA Government/NP."

The kwaZulu government remained committed to the establishment of a federation of states in South Africa in which the member states were reserved all residual powers and to the federal government was devolved only those powers which could not be adequately or properly exercised at state level, the statement said. The kwaZulu government demanded that such a federation of states be established before or at the same time as elections and the empowerment of a new government. "Accordingly the kwaZulu government has outrightly rejected the notion of a constituent assembly charged with the task of shaping the future of the country."

**De Klerk, Ramaphosa Comment**

*MB2907203493 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] State President F.W. de Klerk has failed to woo the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] back to constitutional talks despite a three-hour meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban today. However, both delegations agreed that negotiations couldn't be fruitful if any of the participants were excluded. [passage omitted]

And in Pretoria this afternoon President de Klerk also commented on the kwaZulu government's intended court action against the Negotiating Council. He was speaking after meeting with former French Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

[Begin recording] [De Klerk] I do not think it is wise to have court actions about this. I would prefer the matter to be solved rather through negotiation and I don't think that the institution of such an action will prohibit negotiations to take place. Also with regard to the question of sufficient consensus, and I think we'll be able, may be even before the court case is heard, to make progress with rather getting a broader agreement on the issue than trying to get the court to tell us what to do in that regard.

[SABC correspondent Gary Alfonso] Reaction by parties in the Negotiating Council to the court action by the kwaZulu government ranged from disbelief to surprise. Court documents were attached to the doors of party offices at the World Trade Center. Nevertheless, the Council decided to go ahead with constitutional debates, but suspended the discussion on the report on sufficient consensus pending the outcome of the proceedings and the possible return of the CP [Conservative Party], the IFP and the kwaZulu government to the negotiating table. Parties in the Council were adamant that the court action would not reverse the decision on an election date, or the draft interim constitution.

[Cyril Ramaphosa] I expect this to be laughed out of court. There's just no legal basis whatsoever on which the IFP can succeed, and what is even more horrendous is that this action is being brought by the kwaZulu government using taxpayers' money. [end recording]

#### Meyer, DP Respond

*MB3007094093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 30 Jul 93*

[Text] The government's chief negotiator, Mr. Roelf Meyer, says he does not believe that the Supreme Court application by the kwaZulu government against decisions by the Negotiating Council will affect the Council's operations. Reacting to the application Mr. Meyer said that as the application did not ask for the suspension of operations but merely for certain decisions to be set aside, the negotiating process could continue. The government would continue its discussions with Inkatha and the kwaZulu government today. Our political news staff reports that the question of sufficient consensus and self-determination for the Zulus will receive urgent attention at these talks. All the parties in the Negotiating Council were served with summonses by the Kempton Park sheriff yesterday setting out the details of the kwaZulu government's court application.

The kwaZulu government wants the matter heard as an urgent application on the 24 of next month. The Democratic Party [DP] has expressed shock at the political implications of the legal action being instituted by the kwaZulu government. The DP's chief negotiator, Mr. Colin Eglon, said the process of negotiation in good faith was impossible when mutual trust broke down to the point where participants resorted to legal action. Earlier, the secretary general of the ANC, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, said that the court case was not just an attempt to derail the negotiating process but was aimed at bringing it to a complete standstill.

According to Mr. Ramaphosa the application was contrary to decisions taken by the Negotiating Council.

#### De Klerk, Buthelezi Comment After 4-Hour Meeting

*MB2907120893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1128 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Durban July 29 SAPA—South Africa should not contemplate adopting a new constitution and contesting elections without the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP], State President F W de Klerk said on Thursday.

He was hopeful, however, that the issues of sufficient consensus and federalism could be addressed to Inkatha's satisfaction. Mr. de Klerk was speaking after a four-hour meeting with IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi and delegations from their respective parties at Durban's King's House.

"I am hopeful problems around sufficient consensus and federalism are bridgeable," said the state president.

Mr. Buthelezi in turn reiterated that Inkatha's withdrawal from negotiations was not permanent. However, he criticised statements from the African National Congress that the process could continue without him. "The fact that I'm not there now, does not mean I will destroy negotiations in the country," said Mr. Buthelezi.

Responding to questions on his Supreme Court bid to challenge the notion of sufficient consensus, Mr. Buthelezi explained that he was hoping that this would define what sufficient consensus should mean. "Before we know what it means, it will be futile (to return to negotiations)," he said.

#### De Klerk on Role of Transitional Executive Council

*MB2907173393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1615 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Text] Pretoria July 29 SAPA—The role of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will be to monitor, and not to instruct the government, says State President FW de Klerk. Addressing journalists after a meeting with former French Prime Minister Michel Rocard at Pretoria's Union Buildings on Thursday afternoon, Mr de Klerk said the TEC would not be a "super cabinet", and he did not foresee a situation where the TEC would force the government "to do things".

SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported Mr de Klerk as saying that the government had no objection to being monitored by the TEC to ensure there was no abuse of power. He said it should be remembered that the government and the National Party would be part of the TEC.

However, the government was unhappy about certain aspects of the report on the TEC and would suggest amendments to remove what he called "wrong perceptions".

Commenting on the kwaZulu government's intended court action against the Multiparty Negotiating Council over the election date and the concept of "sufficient consensus", Mr de Klerk said he considered it unwise to turn to the courts on these issues and would like the problems to be solved through negotiations. He said he believed broader agreement on these issues could be achieved before they would be heard in court.

#### **NP, AVU, CP Spokesmen Comment on Negotiations**

*MB2907173893 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 28 Jul 93*

[Interview with National Party chief negotiator Dawie de Villiers, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, and Afrikaner National Union leader Andries Beyers by South African Broadcasting Corporation announcer Freek Robinson on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] This evening on "Agenda" the National Party [NP], the Conservative Party [CP], and the Afrikaner Volksunie [National Union, AVU] tackle each other in a debate on the draft constitution. The leaders talk about differences and discuss the road ahead. Good evening and a hearty welcome. As you heard over the news, the CP was not present at the Negotiating Council today, but they are here, so I hope we are going to have an interesting discussion.

The Negotiating Council began its discussion in Kempton Park today to discuss the interim draft constitution for South Africa. The Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, and the kwaZulu government, as I have said, were not there. The Afrikaner National Union, an ally of the CP and the Afrikaner National Front, however, decided to be part of the negotiation process.

To discuss the issue we have three leaders with us. Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, leader of the Conservative Party—all the way from Lichtenburg. Welcome, Doctor. Also Dr. Dawie de Villiers, leader of the National Party negotiating team, and also Mr. Andries Beyers of the Afrikaner National Union. Welcome to all of you. I want to start with you, Dr. Hartzenberg. It concerns the question of your withdrawal from negotiations specifically on the issue of self-determination. How do you define self-determination?

[Hartzenberg] Freek, I think I must first tell you that my wife says you wear beautiful ties.

[Robinson] Thank you. Let us get to the question of self-determination.

[Hartzenberg] It is the right of a nation to govern itself in its own fatherland without interference. That means to draw up its own constitution and they must be able to implement this constitution themselves. Now the present draft constitution brought before the Negotiating Council does not make provision for that and the

manner in which the constitution came about, or is in the process of being drawn up rather, is totally unsatisfactory, and I am of the view that the whole process is failing as a result.

[Robinson] Mr. Beyers, do you have differences regarding that definition by Dr. Hartzenberg?

[Beyers] We think that the way in which self-determination can come to fruition in South Africa is through self-determination for Afrikaners and others who want to be in a partitioned state in South Africa as part of a federation, in which all living there, everyone of all colors would have the same basic rights. Any racism in South Africa is something of the past. It is not part of reality and cannot exist. That is why we say we have to create a new dispensation where our people will be allocated a specific region in South Africa, a big concentration of them, where they will be in the majority, and then on that basis fair self-determination for our people can be brought about—that is the AVU's view.

[Robinson] In other words, you differ more on the way of getting there rather than the precise definition thereof, although you have given a more loose, simpler definition than Dr. Hartzenberg.

[Beyers] As I said, the difference between the CP and the AVU in this context is that the AVU says in our specific region all will have the right to vote. There will be no differences. Everybody will be treated the same. The problem is that self-determination is in reality not betrayed by a particular political policy but through our historic negligence as Afrikaners to have settled ourselves somewhere in a natural area. We think the problem can be bridged by having a region demarcated where there is a concentration of our people, where they can have full political participation and can rule themselves in that way. It is possible.

[Robinson] Dr. de Villiers, the funny thing is that we are all sitting here as Afrikaners and we are all claiming to represent the Afrikaners, also the National Party. How will you make provision for the self-determination of Afrikaners if you believe in it?

[De Villiers] Freek, let me just first say that my problem with the CP is that when they talk about the right to self-determination, they highlight that single right and elevate it above all other rights. There are also other important rights, as Andries has rightly remarked, that within a state the citizens should have the right to move around freely, live freely, rights to ensure that they are not discriminated against, rights to take part in politics. It is like singling out a text from the Bible and then basing your religion on it. To just say there is an absolute right to self-determination and everything else has to be gauged according to that...

[Robinson, interrupting] So do you believe in self-determination for the Afrikaner?



[De Villiers] We say there is room for self-determination, and I agree with what Andries just spelt out, without having to repeat it, that the rights of other citizens should not be taken away. We believe the way to negotiate self-determination, within the complex situation in South Africa, is to take part in discussions at the Negotiating Council.

Could I just make this comment? The Conservative Party, during their participation in the Council, made a proposal on self-determination which actually boils down to territorial geographic division—a partitioning of South Africa. Following their proposal a debate was organized to discuss the topic of confederation. This debate is scheduled for tomorrow and this is the problem I have with my friend Ferdie in the Conservative Party, that they have given up hope of self-determination for the Afrikaner but are not prepared to discuss their views at a time when all parties are deciding on how self-determination, among other things, can be brought about in South Africa for all who belong here.

[Robinson] I would very much like to give Dr. Hartzenberg a chance to respond, but I would like to know from you, Dr. Dawie: Is the National Party negotiating over self-determination even though it would be a concept adopted by other parties; whether you, in other words, want to please the CP, or the National Union, or are you yourself also negotiating as an Afrikaner for self-determination for the Afrikaner?

[De Villiers] We are also negotiating as Afrikaners for self-determination for the Afrikaner, but let me also add, what does self-determination mean?

[Robinson] What does it mean to you?

[De Villiers] It means more than just the fact that the Afrikaner is... [pauses] You must have room to exercise your Afrikaner character, to be yourself, to be able to govern yourself. To me it means that I must be able to practice my language, my culture, my religion; to have living room in which I can feed my children based on the values which I believe in.

[Robinson] That living room, does it have to be a specific region?

[De Villiers] Now I am saying, ideally speaking, it would be best for any nation to have an own geographic area in which to practice that; but in a country like South Africa where reality determines that different nations are all sharing the same region, we have to maintain a balance in our demands, reconcile them with reality; therefore I cannot claim as an Afrikaner that I want an Afrikaner state in which the majority of the people who are also citizens of that state, who live there, are not going to have any rights. Then it will be reinstating the practice of apartheid all over again, and we know where that has taken us.

[Robinson] Thank you very much, Dr. Dawie. Dr. Hartzenberg, you have waited patiently for today. May I

ask you: Is your option of self-determination not possible in any other model tabled at the Negotiating Council? It has to be separation and nothing else?

[Hartzenberg] Look, if you say separation, then I think you are giving content to something that is not really true. The fact is that I have more problems with my friend Dawie, more than he has with me because self-determination cannot be attained in a unitary state with a central government which has all the powers and which in turn leaves all the nations and the states with no power. We could just as well have argued that there could have been a government for the whole of Africa—one government for Africa, and then there would be no self-determination for the different nations or states. The point is we are going to have... [pauses] The dispensation which we are now heading for is going to be a basis for colonialism; where the winner will rule all. And if Dawie tells me that he is satisfied to play concertina on Saturday night, then I am telling him that I am not satisfied with that option, it is not sufficient; and what we demand for ourselves, namely self-determination, this we say every nation in South Africa is entitled to, and that is why the negotiations have to deal with this issue and make it materialize, not to bring about a unitary state.

[Robinson] So it has to be specifically a separate state?

[Hartzenberg] A separate state for us and for any other nation that wants it. Let us tell you now: The Soviet Union was a union, and this draft constitution now on the table is a constitution for a unitary state. They moved away from a union to a confederation to try and find a solution, that is exactly what the CP proposes; a confederation in which the different nations and states can cooperate with each other. My friend Dawie says we have to enter that bad situation where the Russians and the Soviet Union have been. There is now a confederation which includes a federation and different other states, and we are saying that is exactly what can happen in South Africa, and it must happen or else we will not have peace.

[Robinson] Academics are saying—internationally speaking—that if, on the whole, a specific nation is suppressed, it may reach a degree where that nation will have no other option but to cut itself off, and do you now feel that the Afrikaner will be pressed down in a like manner that it will have no option but to do that?

[Hartzenberg] I want to tell you that it is not only going to be the Afrikaner which will be pressed down. It will also be other nations in South Africa, because with this constitution that we have, we are heading for a union in which the communist-dominated ANC will rule. It is going to be the government, and why do we first have to be suppressed and why must we firstly move in that direction before we can take any measures, and that is why we are saying now is the time to resort to preventive measures so that we do not get to such a situation.

[Robinson] Both you and Mr. Beyers are in the Afrikaner Front, but you have different views. Now how do you reconcile these two views within the National Front?

[Beyers] We think we can develop further what the National Front is doing. As regards confederation and federation, General Viljoen said in RAPPORT that we are striving instead for a mixture of a confederation and a federation. A confederation is a totally independent state and if you do not have a confederation or an independent state, you no longer have confederation but a federation. I think that is in line with what the AVU advocates for South Africa, because we think that it is not possible. It would be ideal, I would very much like a separate state where my people would be on their own, but it is not possible; we are living with others, and as a result of that, the solution will have to be found in drawing up boundaries in such a way that there will be a concentration of our people, and in that way our people will have political powers. In that way a solution can be found somewhere between the view of the CP on the one hand and the NP on the other, and that solution from the AVU is a solution which is in fact attainable.

[Robinson] Dr. Le Villiers, you wanted to reply to Dr. Hartzenberg.

[De Villiers] Yes, thank you, Freek. I just wish to make it very clear that the impression that we are busy shaping a constitution for a unitary state at the World Trade Center is incorrect. The facts are that the constitutional principles which have been accepted undoubtedly make for a strong federal system. There's no doubt about that. I believe a balance can be struck between the position of Dr. Hartzenberg and that of Dr. Beyers and the AVU; namely that we accommodate the Afrikaner as well, because the solution being proposed by the CP of cutting out a portion of South Africa and establishing Afrikaners there who would again be in the minority, and who would then practice the same discrimination and denial of civil rights to the majority—it just is not a solution. I believe if they agree to participate and contribute by negotiating the best deal for Afrikaners and for all other South Africans so they can oversee their own affairs and make a peaceful solution possible, that would be a constructive contribution.

[Robinson] Okay, but Dr. Hartzenberg has already said he does not agree to that. Let me ask the question...

[Hartzenberg, interrupting] I have to answer now, because he is talking too much. Look, Freek, Dawie is wrong when he says it is not a unitary state. In this constitution, the regions have fewer powers than the provinces had in the Union of South Africa under the 1910 Constitution and thereafter under the 1960 Constitution.

[Robinson] Then the committee which decides on those powers will have to put their proposals on the table.

[Hartzenberg] We already have a draft constitution on the table, which decides on the powers. If that draft

constitution were to stipulate that the central government would not have control over those regions as it had over the provinces... [pauses] the provinces did not have a central executive authority over them to control them. Under this draft constitution there are other watchdogs which are built in by the central government, namely a commission for regions and a financial and fiscal commission which will control them. In other words, here we have deadly central control from the top. That is not a federation, it is a unitary state, worse than the union we had in 1910.

[Robinson] I accept what you say. I know there is a committee which still has to report on powers, so I personally do not believe one has to give too much attention to that at this stage. You are correct in saying that the DP also made the same point.

[Beyers] I would just like to add here that what Dr. Hartzenberg says is correct: under the present draft constitution—which is not the NP's or the ANC's or the CP's constitution, it's the technical committee's constitution—but under it, power is actually given to the national government, the government which will be elected on 27 April, to decide what the powers and borders of the regions will be. That national government will have the real power. We are not happy with that. We feel it is not right; we feel the borders and powers of regions must be entrenched, and that is why we are at the negotiating table—we wish to state our case and correct those things.

[Robinson] But the problem is, as Dr. Hartzenberg says, federation is not acceptable to the CP. He has called for a leaders' summit. Who must be at that summit, and what must be discussed?

[Hartzenberg] I think we must begin on a better foundation for that leaders' summit, which the state president has accepted. The present Negotiating Council has been wrongly constituted. There are many parties outside which have more support than some of the parties inside the Negotiating Council, such as opposition parties in self-governing territories and in independent states; they have substantial support. But within the Negotiating Council there are parties which do not have that support. Take, for example, the traditional leaders. The ANC's organization, Contralesa [Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa], is divided into three, and they therefore have three separate representations for three provinces. Yet the real traditional leaders, the paramount chiefs, the heavyweights, are not represented, and they ought to be.

[Robinson] You say all paramount chiefs...

[Hartzenberg, interrupting] I say recognized leaders of nations, as well as recognized political leaders.

[Robinson] Including the ANC and the Communist Party?



[Hartzenberg] I will not invite them, and I will not insist on their being present. I know Dr. Dawie will see to that; he won't waste a moment, because without them he cannot live. He will make sure they are there. But if they are present, we will not stay away. We did not stay out of the Negotiating Council when they were present. We decided a long time ago that whatever forum there is at which we can bargain for something for our people, we will be there, regardless of who is present. It is the interests of our people which matter, not who is present.

[Robinson] And you will be seeking self-determination in an own state?

[Hartzenberg] Self-determination in an own state, also for other nations who want it. We support them. Those who do not want it can ask for what they desire. If they want a federation, they can have it, and they can always become part of a confederation. Those who want a unitary state—like Dr. Dawie here—can also have their wish, and they can also become part of the confederation.

[Robinson] Let's not get into a war of words over that...

[De Villiers, interrupting] Freek, I think I can speak for myself: a unitary state is not what the NP wants. We stand for strong regional government, with federal principles built into the constitution. The irony is that today at the negotiations we were discussing more powers for regions, but the CP was absent, while the AVU was present. Today we talked about this very issue, and to plead now for a leadership summit... [pauses] It's always good for leaders to get together. There's the violence in the country as well as other issues which make such a leadership summit necessary. But there at the negotiations, where all the leaders' spokesman and negotiating teams are found, the CP is not present.

[Beyers] Let me just say that we ought to welcome the statement by the CP that they support a leadership summit. That is what General Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] also said. Let the ANC be present. That's a means of negotiating—maybe negotiating at a higher level, but in principle it's the same thing. I think that's one way by which the CP and other parties can return to the negotiation process. If the leaders are negotiating, I am happy; I feel it is very good for them to meet one another. We in this country need each other. There cannot be a solution if it is acceptable only to the Afrikaners. The solution which we need to find is one which must be acceptable to everyone in South Africa. So I welcome Dr. Hartzenberg's call for a leadership summit at which all the leaders should be present. We believe it should take place as soon as possible, and we welcome the fact that the state president has said he would take the lead in calling such a summit.

[Robinson] I'm not sure if it is that kind of summit. Dr. Dawie, does the NP support the idea of such a leadership summit to discuss negotiations, not peace?

[De Villiers] The state president was referring specifically to the violence in the country, and the need for leaders to work together to get rid of this evil.

[Robinson] But what Dr. Hartzenberg is calling for is something different.

[De Villiers] But I would like to repeat that the opportunity is there. At the CP's request we are busy debating confederation. That is scheduled for tomorrow. The CP will be absent. But we need to talk with one another, so I also welcome the statements by Dr. Hartzenberg and General Viljoen that we must talk. We dare not stop talking. There is no other solution. We must try to resolve our problems, because it's only by talking that we can find lasting solutions.

[Robinson] But the question still stands: Are you prepared to arrange and take part in the kind of leadership summit that Dr. Hartzenberg is speaking about?

[De Villiers] We believe that, as far as negotiations are concerned, the present Council offers enough scope for all parties to participate. There is a mechanism by which any party which believes it should be included can apply for consideration. Up to now parties which applied have been weighed and found wanting. The present Council also makes provision for traditional leaders in the four provinces. There are four delegations representing the traditional leaders, and we believe that is important that they are there; and they are making themselves heard.

[Robinson] Dr. De Villiers, the question I asked is whether you are prepared to arrange the summit which Dr. Hartzenberg wants, or do you only want to negotiate within the present Negotiating Council?

[De Villiers] We say any discussion which can contribute towards solutions to our problems is to be welcomed. But I feel it is a smokescreen to call for a leadership summit at this stage to discuss constitutional matters. The leaders cannot resolve constitutional matters with one another within a single morning or a day. These are technical matters. A constitution, constitutional principles are complicated, which is why experts and spokespersons from all parties are meeting there, and they report back to their leaders. I do not believe that the leaders of any party involved in the negotiations are not fully informed on what is going on.

[Hartzenberg] Freek, you will have to rein in Dr. Dawie.

[Robinson] Yes, Dr. Hartzenberg must be given a chance.

[Hartzenberg] He is blaming me for the CP not being present there. The fact is that this draft constitution began with the memorandum of understanding. It was an agreement between the government and the ANC which gave birth to this constitution. Everything in this constitution was born on that day, and since then the NP and the government support all the ANC's constitutional proposals and the South African Communist Party...

[De Villiers, interrupting] That's not true.

[Hartzenberg] It's the absolute truth. You are buddies. Sir, let me...

[Robinson, interrupting] Dr. Hartzenberg, you're playing politics, and I know our Boers enjoy that kind of thing, but I'd like to ask you straight: Are you not prepared under any circumstances to return to the Negotiating Council to continue negotiations?

[Hartzenberg] We tabled these documents there—on self-determination, on a confederation, on a constitution, and on ways to make the process materialize. When they announced the election date and said there is one constituent assembly for the whole of South Africa, by that they wiped off all our demands from the table. When they announced this constitution, they erased all those things. No notice is taken of our issues and those of the Cosag [Concerned South Africans Group] group, all that receives attention are the issues of the National Party, which are in fact the SACP and the ANC's. And that is why I want to say, Sir, they do not listen to us, and all they want is for us to just go and sit around the negotiating table to give credibility to the proposals of the SACP which they support...

[Robinson, interrupting] You will under no circumstances whatsoever...

[Hartzenberg, interrupting] Unless they come to their senses.

[Robinson] How?

[Hartzenberg] Unless they come to their senses and say self-determination is being recognized and that there is a need for it, that there are nations and states in South Africa—because it is not only us—that want self-determination.

[Robinson] Is that the bottom line?

[Hartzenberg] I cannot be satisfied by anything less than that. We are leaving the era of domination, the era of domination is past, we are entering an era of freedom, and Dawie here says we must be satisfied with being suppressed.

[De Villiers] Truly, there are a whole lot of untruths on the party and negotiations. I will not respond to that, but I must state this...

[Beyers, interrupting] I want to appeal to Dr. Dawie in this regard and say that a request has been made by General Viljoen and also by Dr. Hartzenberg regarding a leaders' summit. Let the National Party consider and reconsider it and consider it favorably. What is wrong with leaders of strong groupings in South Africa getting together to deliberate. General Viljoen has requested it, Dr. Hartzenberg says he is prepared to speak in Mr. Mandela's presence. I think it is necessary, because ultimately Dr. Hartzenberg and Mr. Mandela and Mr. Buthelezi and Dr. De Villiers and Mr. De Klerk have to

find each other in this country so that lasting, stable solutions can be created for our country. And that is possible. Can I be bold enough and say there is a compromise possible, a compromise which will accommodate all the reasonable aspirations of all the people of South Africa, more or less what the AVU advocates. On that point we can all meet each other and...

[Robinson interrupting, laughing] Then you and Dr. Hartzenberg can talk productively to each other in the National Front. Dr. Dawie, you asked for a few minutes and then we have to end.

[De Villiers] Freek, I only wanted to say the age of slogan politics is over. My friend Ferdie has been trying to lash at the National Party left and right. I will not go into his allegations now, there is no time left for that. I clearly stated what our objectives are for a federation in South Africa, and I believe that within that federal dispensation there is enough room, as Andries said, for the Afrikaner and all other South African citizens to live their lives to the full.

[Robinson] Okay, Dr. Dawie. Dr. Hartzenberg, very briefly, please.

[Hartzenberg] We have just conducted a big debate, and do you know what it was about? About a draft constitution for only two years, thereafter the whole (?state) is wide open, because then it will be the constituent assembly which will have the right to write the constitution as it wishes. That is why we have to talk.

[Robinson] There has to be discussion, and you who are here tonight, and also all those outside will get the opportunity to hold discussions in whichever way to solve these problems. Thank you very much.

[Beyers] I think we should arrange another debate here.

[Robinson] We are still going to talk a lot—thank you very much for your participation, I appreciate it. We are in a happy mood, and I hope it will continue out there. From my side all the best.

#### **IFP Leader Buthelezi Interviewed on Negotiations**

*MB2807100593 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 27 Jul 93*

[Interview with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the Durban studio by South African Broadcasting Corporation reporter John Bishop, WEEKLY MAIL correspondent Philip van Niekerk, Reuters correspondent Rich Mkhondo, and SUNDAY TIMES correspondent Claire Robertson, in the Johannesburg studio, on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Bishop] A very good evening, and welcome to Tuesday's "Agenda." Tonight, a man at the center of the news, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]. He faces the press. Dr. Buthelezi is in our Durban studio. With me in Johannesburg are Claire Robertson of the SUNDAY TIMES,

Philip van Niekerk of the WEEKLY MAIL, and Rich Mkhondo of REUTERS. Thank you very much for joining us, everybody. A rather late summons, I think. And good evening to you, Chief Minister. Thanks for coming. I am just going to ask you the first question, and then you'll be handed over to our schooled journalists. As you know, for weeks now it's been said that you are indulging in a dangerous pastime of brinkmanship; that you are playing a dangerous game. I want you to just tell us, if you would, what game are you playing.

[Buthelezi] I'm not playing any games. I cannot play games when my people are killed every day. I cannot play games when I'm talking to you now; there are people in the mortuaries that have been killed. I can't play games. I've been in this struggle for too long a time to be playing any games.

[Bishop] Yes. Games, of course, a figure of speech. In other words, what is troubling you? Why aren't you back at the table? Let's put it that way.

[Buthelezi] Well, I think that, you know, it becomes very mysterious to me that, when one talks about one's rights, you know, and one's opinions, in a country where people claim, you know, it's democratic, that one then is labelled and called all those names, because I just think that I have as much right as anyone else to state what kind of South Africa I think we should live in.

[Bishop] What is that? What kind of South Africa should we be living in?

[Buthelezi] We should live in a democratic South Africa, in which there is freedom of speech, in which people are not conned into situations, people are not labelled merely because they state their opinions.

[Van Niekerk] Mr. Chief Minister, is that not precisely the kind of constitution, draft constitution, that we see at the World Trade Center right now, before the political players? Why are you not there, making your case?

[Buthelezi] Well, Mr. Van Niekerk, we asked for a complete constitution, as IFP, and the constitution that you are talking about is only two chapters, and it's not what we had asked for. We had asked for a complete constitution, so that we could...

[Van Niekerk, interrupting] Why aren't you there helping to forge it, to make the new constitution? Is that not the purpose of negotiations?

[Buthelezi] No. I mean, surely, it's a democratic thing, Mr. Van Niekerk, which is accepted throughout the world, whether it's EEC or NATO or United Nations, or whether it's Yasir 'Arafat, that, you know, if you think that you are not getting a square deal, you walk out—not walking out of talks in the sense that you are not going back, but actually making a point.

[Mkhondo] Dr. Buthelezi, [Conservative Party leader] Dr. Hartzenberg has suggested that one of the best ways

of getting back to talks is to call a summit of all leaders to find a way forward. Is this what Inkatha is thinking about at the moment also?

[Buthelezi] No. Why should it be what Inkatha is thinking about? Of course, you're saying that Dr. Hartzenberg said so, and I think that he is entitled to make a suggestion, just I am entitled to make suggestions myself.

[Mkhondo] I'm just trying to find out, would you consider, would you go along with that statement of actually calling all leaders to come together and find a way forward?

[Buthelezi] I think it's worth thinking about.

[Robertson] Chief Minister, if I could ask: The only two chapters that are ready of the constitution, one of them is on regionalism, clearly identified as your most pressing concern at the moment. The debate on that has been delayed for a day already. Will you be returning tomorrow?

[Buthelezi] I don't think so, really.

[Robertson] Will you not be back tomorrow?

[Buthelezi] Definitely not.

[Van Niekerk] Can you tell us when you will be returning?

[Buthelezi] When what we have requested is, you know, given to us, because, Mr. Van Niekerk, let me say this: You know, from the very beginning, we asked that the issue of violence should be a priority issue that should be discussed, and that was just swept under the carpet. Second, we said another priority was the form of state. Even that was just swept under the carpet. Now, even now, there is a document or a letter that we have written to the national council, you know, and we have not yet received any response from that. Now clearly, I mean, we also are entitled to have our say, and while I'm not blaming the technical committee, for instance, which has written the two chapters of the constitution, because they merely carried out instructions they were given, I would say that from the very beginning I think our delegations did say that they did not support it. From the very word go, they said they did not support it, and even the leading Russian constitutionalist, Mr. (Oleg Rumtsig), who is in South Africa just now, has said that this constitution is a masterpiece in deception.

[Mkhondo] Dr. Buthelezi, one of the pressing issues at the moment is to curb violence, maybe get back to talks. Can you tell us what happened to your agreement that you made with [African National Congress President] Dr. Mandela about a month ago? How far are you from implementing that, to try to get things together, as far as the violence is concerned? One other question is the question of civil war. Your colleagues in politics are saying that your threats of saying South Africa could see one of the worst civil wars, or we are already in a low intensity civil war, is actually encouraging some of the



thugs to get along with that, and get things worse, because they think this is what the leaders are saying. Can you just respond to these two questions?

[Buthelezi] Well, first of all, you know that Mr. Mandela went overseas just shortly after our meeting. He went to the OAU and then he went to America to receive the award there—Liberty Medal—and then after that he went around the country campaigning for funds. So he returned not so long ago and just after his return, Mr. Mbeki and Jacob Zuma met with two of our members, and they discussed not a meeting along the lines that we had suggested—us going to address joint peace rallies—but in fact it seemed they were more concerned about the king, and it's those who are IFP people who have more say as far as the king is concerned [as heard], and that did not go very far, but the issue of whether we should address joint peace rallies in terms of our pledge was not on the table at all.

[Bishop] The second part concerns the civil war. There are allegations that you have called for civil war.

[Buthelezi] You are turning it around now, Mr. Bishop. You are saying it is me. Mr. Mkhondo, who asked the question, actually said that some of my colleagues said so. Now you are saying that I've called. Where did I call for a civil war?

[Mkhondo] I'm saying that....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] No, Mr. Mkhondo, I'm asking Mr. Bishop. He is twisting what....

[Mkhondo, interrupting] Let me just clarify the question, Mr. Chief Minister. I am saying that....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] But I didn't need any explanation. You're taking my time now.

[Bishop] Alright, let me respond to that question. I happened to have watched you interviewed by Sheila McDonald on a BBC program a few days ago, and I think she made that allegation to you, did she not, if you recall?

[Buthelezi] No, this is just what I am subjected to....

[Bishop, interrupting] What I'm saying is that there have been allegations. No one is saying you said it, and the follow-on question to assist Mr. Mkhondo was simply that you had a question on that line, did you not?

[Mkhondo] Exactly.

[Buthelezi] No, I didn't question Mr. Mkhondo's what you call....

[Bishop, interrupting] No, well....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] But it's you who chipped in, but I'm saying, Mr. Bishop, that I have never called for civil war. I have never called for any civil war. But I think that I'm reminded here that in 1983 when there was a referendum in this country, and when I tried to warn when I had a meeting in Johannesburg at the City

Hall...[pauses] I had a meeting in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and P.E. [Port Elizabeth] where I was warning whites not to give Mr. P.W. Botha a yes vote. And when I then said that this tricameral system would lead to violence, and in fact I remember that the foreign minister then accused me of urging people to go in to fight when it wasn't so. It mystifies me that when I made an assessment purely on logic that to say a thing like that is going to lead to something of that kind, to say that I'm saber-rattling already. Throughout my political career I've always been non-violent.

[Bishop] Let's try to clear that up....

[Mkhondo, interrupting] But my question has never been answered.

[Bishop] Alright, follow on Mr. Mkhondo please.

[Mkhondo] I wanted to say that Dr. Buthelezi, your threats, or your suggestions that we could see the worst kind of civil war....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] There is a civil war already. You have a low-intensity civil war. I've just watched the news now. You know there's a low-intensity civil war. There are private armies in this country. The fact that some of those private armies are killing people, so already we have a low-intensity civil war....

[Mkhondo, interrupting] What I'm trying to say is, when you remind people that this is the case, isn't it that thugs are getting into the bandwagon, to do things that could be regarded as political while they are not? What I'm trying to find out from you is that your colleagues in politics are saying if you stop doing that, the better, because it is part of war talk that you don't want.

[Buthelezi] Actually as a leader, as a leader I think I have a right; it's my prerogative to warn people against dangers. If I tell you that you must not turn to the left because there's a snake there, I'm not saying that I'm going to put it there. Or if clouds are gathering and I tell you that there's a storm brewing, I am not saying that I'm going to brew it.

[Robertson] Chief Minister, could I ask if you're not planning for civil war—well, you haven't quite said that—and you are not going back to talks tomorrow, what is the next step for your party?

[Buthelezi] We have bilateral talks you know, Miss Robertson, going on. In fact today I even heard the report there were long discussions which took place between our delegation and the government delegation. I think there have been three or four bilaterals. There have been two bilaterals with the ANC. There are bilaterals with other parties. So we haven't really cut off discussions, because there's something of an urgency about the way forward and we are quite aware of that, and therefore if we are not at the multi-lateral, we're being conned. We have kept communications open to all parties.

[Robertson] Are you committed to continue with bilateral talks?

[Buthelezi] Yes, in fact I said today—I haven't had a report—there were long discussions between my team and other teams of the IFP and the government team, and there have been three others, I think on the 5th, and the 8th, and 17th already.

[Robertson] Chief minister, is there any chance that you might get personally involved in these bilaterals? Is it fair that you are being advised on the different strengths or weaknesses on what has been discussed or agreed to in the multiparty talks?

[Buthelezi] Ms Robertson, in fact you remind me that in fact you wrote an article where you actually said that, you know, I am being misled by advisers. You know, I think that it's high time we laid that ghost to rest. I think that is very insulting for an adult human being like myself, who has been in leadership for more than three decades, to be said that one is led by advisers, you know.

[Van Niekerk] Yet you believe in a bottom-up approach. The whole strategy of Inkatha is to say it must come up from the ground.

[Buthelezi] We say both. We say both, from top to bottom, and bottom up.

[Mkhondo] Let's just find out something about your objections to sufficient consensus. If I remember very well, [IFP National Chairman] Dr. Mdlalose is one of the rotating chairmen at the talks, and he has actually sat there and conducted proceedings, and also used sufficient consensus as one of the issues. What I want to find out from you is, why is it that it only occurs now that this is a very bad approach? Why is it that Inkatha didn't object....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] From the very beginning there were a number....[pauses] I can remember a number of decisions where in fact Inkatha registered its objections, when in fact a decision was made or a judgment was made that there was sufficient consensus. We've never understood what sufficient consensus means. That's why we'd like to know what that means, in fact, because it isn't as if we don't know anything about deciding on the basis of consensus. Because we had the Buthelezi Commission here; we had the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba, where decisions which were not even palatable to us, but which by consensus were reached, but I mean we didn't have the situation which we are having at the World Trade Center.

[Bishop] Just one quick question?

[Robertson] Sir, your own chief negotiator, Joe Matthews, was involved in drafting those standing rules on sufficient consensus. He went along with them, with no problems, until sufficient consensus went against Inkatha.

[Buthelezi] No. I think that is very funny, that when three parties abstain, eight parties object, then it's 15 out of 26, then you say there is sufficient consensus. I mean, I'd like you to define that for me. I would like someone to explain that to me.

[Robertson] Well, I take....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] Because in a situation where you use consensus, you don't count heads or hands.

[Robertson] Apparently your party will be asking for sufficient consensus to, in future, mean that the ANC, the government, and yourselves, have to agree?

[Buthelezi] I beg your pardon?

[Robertson] Apparently your party will be seeking, in terms of a new definition of sufficient consensus, that the ANC, the government, and Inkatha have to agree, for a decision to have been taken?

[Bishop] Is that right?

[Buthelezi] Whose definition is that?

[Robertson] One of your advisers.

[Buthelezi] No, but you must question me on my... [pauses] I take strong exception, you know, Ms. Robertson, to say I have advisers.

[Bishop] But is that right? Let's ask you straight....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] But I take exception that this lady keeps on saying that nonsense, you know....

[Robertson, interrupting] I apologize, Chief Minister....

[Bishop, interrupting] No, she's just asking you straight....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] She's just saying that because I'm a blooming kaffir, that I cannot think for myself.

[Bishop] No, she didn't say anything like that.

[Robertson] Sir, who I was referring to was one of your negotiators.

[Bishop] Well, anyway the chief is here. Is that true or not, Chief Minister?

[Buthelezi] But she said that someone else said....

[Bishop, interrupting] Well, you are now here. We don't want to hear from....

[Buthelezi, interrupting] No, you must question that person who said so. If I didn't say it, why do you question me about something that was said by someone else?

[Robertson] If you're not in concord on your position at the talks, then that perhaps does give some credence to the fact that there are divisions within Inkatha.



[Buthelezi] I'm sure many people would love divisions in Inkatha.

[Bishop] Are there none?

[Buthelezi] I'm not aware of them. You can tell me if you're aware of them.

[Robertson] Is there perhaps not vigorous debate about the approach that your party should take to the talks?

[Buthelezi] I beg your pardon?

[Robertson] Is there not perhaps vigorous debate within the party on the approach that your party should take to the talks?

[Buthelezi] I don't understand your question. What do you mean?

[Bishop] Well, within your party, do you have dissident voices, within your party, sort of arguing with you, disagreeing with you, sometimes agreeing with you, that sort of thing?

[Buthelezi] No, we're a democratic party. I mean, we discuss things at the central committee level, and people agree, sometimes they dissent, as in any other organization. But I mean, there are no strong divisions in my party.

[Bishop] The constitution which has been published, and to which you have strong objections—it's said that in fact it was drawn up together with others, but also according to your guidelines; that in fact before you walked out on 2 July you agreed to it. Anything in that?

[Buthelezi] No. As far as I'm aware, Mr. Bishop, I'm aware that we only said that we wanted a complete constitution, you know, with a full bill of rights, which this isn't.

[Mkhondo] The feeling I get from the negotiators there, the government, the ANC, and others, is that this draft constitution does not please anyone altogether, and the reason they are there is to make sure that it pleases them. And the feeling I get also from others is that the IFP is shifting the goal posts as far as their demands. For you Mr. Chief Minister, what is your feeling about this? The fact that it does not please anyone, and the reason they are there is to make sure that it pleases them?

[Buthelezi] No. I think, Mr. Mkhondo, I've stated my position quite simply—that we requested that a full constitution be drawn with a full bill of rights, and this isn't it.

[Van Niekerk] Chief Minister, you said earlier in the program that you courageously opposed the P.W. Botha constitution in 1983. If I can recall correctly that was because the constitution excluded black people from having any say in the running of the country. Now how can you explain the fact that you, today, find yourself in bed with a political party—that is, the Conservative

Party—which is expressly searching for a republic in South Africa which would exclude black people, your own following?

[Buthelezi] Any connivance or collusion between one or two parties is something which I will never accept under any circumstances. I can never accept any collusion similar to the collusion that was done by English speaking and Afrikaners in 1910 when they excluded, you know, other people and imposed a constitution on the resident population and any two parties that connived, as far as I'm concerned, is a repeat performance of what happened in 1910.

[Van Niekerk] Would you accept an Afrikaner Boerestaat [Boer homeland], the kind of thing that the Conservative Party is offering?

[Buthelezi] Why should I speak for them? Why don't you.... [pauses] I'm not a member of the Afrikaner Boerestaat. Why don't you ask them?

[Van Niekerk] Well, if they brought it to the constitution table would you say yes or no?

[Buthelezi] It should be brought to the multilateral talks and it should be decided by all in the meeting.

[Van Niekerk] Would you back them in it?

[Buthelezi] I'm not prepared to say that. I'm not their representative nor am I their lawyer and I'm not prepared to be drawn into that by you.

[Van Niekerk] But you are in alliance with them. Surely it matters to their supporters.

[Buthelezi] We are not in alliance with them.

[Van Niekerk] Surely your supporters would like to know from you tonight whether or not you support a Boerestaat.

[Buthelezi] Mr. van Niekerk, they are not the spokesmen of my supporters.

[Van Niekerk] Well, what do tell your supporters when they ask you?

[Buthelezi] They have never asked me because, I mean, they are not woolly-minded because they know exactly that I don't mince words, that I say things like they are. I have no problems. From the beginning of my political career I don't mince things. I tell things as they are.

[Bishop] Well, Chief Minister, let's have you tell us tonight. What is it you want? Do you want a separate Zulu kingdom?

[Buthelezi] What utter rubbish. What makes you say that?

[Bishop] No, I'm just asking you. What is it you want?

[Buthelezi] We have said we wanted a federation. The same as the American federation. The same as the German federation. We have said so.

[Bishop] But with respect. When you were interviewed by Sir David Frost, you said that you supported a Zulu kingdom and you also said ...

[Buthelezi, interrupting] But a Zulu kingdom exists even now.

[Bishop] But you also said you supported a unitary state, but he didn't ask you and I'd like to, how ...

[Buthelezi, interrupting] A federation is a form of unitary state. If it is one state it is not a confederation. I have never supported a confederation.

[Bishop] But if this constitution has deep federal principles embedded in it why aren't you at the table?

[Buthelezi] Well, its neither fish nor fowl. If I'm eating a chicken I would like to know that I'm eating a chicken. If I'm eating fish I should like to know that I'm eating fish.

[Robertson] Chief Minister, further to your not mincing words with your supporters, will the IFP be contesting the election if it is held in April next year?

[Buthelezi] In fact we are preparing for the election, Miss Robertson.

[Robertson] So you've accepted that that's probably when you'll be ...

[Buthelezi, interrupting] No, I don't care when it will happen but we are preparing for an election.

[Robertson] Could I just, on that point. The longer that your party vacillates between full participation and non-participation, revives the talk of civil war, there are signs that you ...

[Buthelezi, interrupting] It's nonsense that you keep on putting into my mouth this thing of civil war. Don't keep on putting that into my mouth.

[Bishop] In fairness the chief minister has established he is not calling for war.

[Robertson] You have never threatened civil war but you have warned that it is an option. It is the consequence of political developments that you do not agree about.

[Buthelezi] Maybe you don't care that there are so many of my people that are being killed. As far as you are concerned, because we are black you don't care that people are in the mortuary as I am talking to you. Even when I was listening to the news now, some of our leaders are in the mortuary in the Transvaal, even here, even just this afternoon I had news that one leader of my people in the Umtunzini area has been killed.

[Van Niekerk] Chief Minister, there are members of other political parties who are lying in mortuaries tonight as well, the victims possibly of members of your

organization. You've made a lot of suggestions about the violence, for other parties to disband Umkhonto or for the government to stop conniving with the ANC. What is Inkatha doing? What constructive suggestions does Inkatha bring forward for itself to help stop the violence?

[Robertson] Indeed, when it ...

[Bishop, interrupting] Sorry, just let the Chief Minister reply.

[Buthelezi] At the multiparty talks, Mr. van Niekerk, we suggested that, you know, we should spend more time to clear, you know, the decks for democratic election. We suggested that we should deal with this issue of violence and it was swept under the carpet and we signed the peace accord. We signed the peace accord as IFP and all along I called for Mr. Mandela and myself to go out to address joint peace rallies to try and set an example for our followers so that we could create a kind of peace movement behind us.

[Van Niekerk] And yet your supporters are still involved in violence?

[Buthelezi] But they are not instructed by me. That's the difference. I have no private army. They are not instructed by me but in a situation where there is violence and counter violence and revenge violence, even preemptive violence it's not orchestrated by myself. There is not a single occasion where I or the Central Committee of the IFP has ever taken a decision to people, that people must be killed.

[Bishop] Chief Minister, we have three minutes. Claire, quickly.

[Robertson] Sir, tonight members of your party and I believe the Transvaal warned that they might be pulling out of peace structures because of the violence.

[Buthelezi] Well, you see Miss Robertson ... I beg your pardon.

[Bishop] What was the question please?

[Robertson] On the news tonight, I think it was your southern Transvaal executive who warns the IFP might pull out of peace structures. You'll be out of the talks, out of peace structures. What is left to you and what contribution are you making to solving this country's problems?

[Buthelezi] There is no party you know, which has lost about 300 of its leaders as the IFP has done. Thousands of my people have been killed. Even now hundreds of my people are being killed so I cannot judge in a situation where there is ongoing violence in the Transvaal, what makes them feel that they should withdraw. There is a situation, for instance, in the Midlands where some of the people withdrew from the peace talks precisely because when they went for the meetings or returned from meetings they were killed.

[Bishop] Chief minister, there's a burning question. I think you know it. How strong is your party? Who do you represent? How many Zulus, not only Zulus, how many Inkatha Freedom Party members are there? How powerful an organization is it?

[Buthelezi] Well, I'll leave that to your judgment. You have seen our rallies. You have seen our demonstrations here in Johannesburg and Durban. I mean, I leave that to you, to your judgment.

[Bishop] You see the polls keep saying that you haven't got much support in the metropolitan area, you know. About three percent would support you.

[Buthelezi] It's okay. I don't care. Maybe it's two percent and maybe they are generous in saying three percent. If there are many who believe that then it's okay. Believe that.

[Van Niekerk] Do you not believe a single opinion poll because not one would give you more than 15 percent support at this point.

[Buthelezi] Well, let me tell you. I have news for you. I have been in politics longer than you, when you were still at school, you know. In Zimbabwe Intelligence sources said that Mr. Nkomo would win hands down and all the polls, the CIA, the intelligence of South Africa, the intelligence in Britain, and all polls said that Mr. Nkomo would win hands down and it just did not happen.

[Van Niekerk] We shall wait for that.

[Buthelezi] Of course, you should wait. That's why your mouth shouldn't water about whether I will lose or win. We should all wait for that. That is the judgment of people. The people must judge that.

[Bishop] Less than a minute, Chief Minister. Last question from Rich.

[Mkhondo] Can you just set down your bottom lines at the moment, of returning to the talks, just for the last time for us?

[Buthelezi] But I've said—I've already said Mr. Mkhondo that we have said that we wanted a full constitution with a full bill of rights, to examine it and also there was Model B and C at the talks and our delegation had asked that Model C should be put on the table as well, but it was never put on the table so as to give people options.

[Mkhondo] Until that is done you are not returning?

[Buthelezi] Of course, why should I. I'm not participating in a charade.

[Bishop] On that note, Chief Minister, thank you so much for joining us for a lively debate. Thank you very much indeed, and to you Claire and gentlemen, and to our viewers of course for watching.

## **Further Reaction to Cape Town Church Killings Reported**

### **PAC Said Not Responsible**

*MB3007082493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0133 GMT 30 Jul 93*

[Text] King William's Town July 29 SAPA—Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] Deputy President Johnson Mlambo said on Thursday members of his organisation had a high respect for the church and there was no way they could have been responsible for last weekend's Cape Town church massacre.

Mr Mlambo told a press conference at King William's Town the PAC had no war against religious people and believed everybody should enjoy freedom of worship.

"Once again the PAC conveys its condolences to all the victims and the families of the victims of the attack."

Mr Mlambo said the PAC was aware of the police's attempts to link the PAC and its armed wing the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army to the attack.

"This is regrettable, because the PAC is in a process of looking into more amicable ways to solve problems of this country by engaging in talks with the regime," he said.

The linking of PAC member Lungisa Ntintili with the King William's Town golf club attack and the Cape Town attack was typical of police behaviour.

"It has always been the police's mission to try everything in their power to destroy the PAC," he said.

Asked if the PAC was geared up for the coming elections, Mr Mlambo said much depended on deliberations at multiparty negotiations.

"Should there be an agreement at the World Trade Centre on elections of the constituent assembly, which the PAC was the first to advocate, then the PAC will contest the elections," he said.

### **PAC: ANC Help Offer Dishonest**

*MB2907132193 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Text] Thousands of Capetonians are wearing white ribbons today as a symbol of peace in the wake of the St. James Church massacre and other incidents of violence. A peace service in the City Hall was due to begin a short while ago. Cape Town Mayor Frank van der Velde said the service would show solidarity for the bereaved and injured as well as with those who were suffering as a result of the violence in Crossroads, Khayelitsha, and other areas. After the service there will be a gathering on the Grand Parade where people will link hands in a circle of peace.

The investigation into the church killing has found that the method of attack definitely corresponded with



attacks on a golf club and a hotel in the eastern Cape earlier this year. Eleven people were killed and more than 50 wounded when a group of men attacked parishioners during a service at the St. James Church in the Cape Town suburb of Kenilworth on Sunday evening.

A police spokesman said the possibility was being investigated that the men responsible for the attacks on the King William's Town Golf Club and the Highgate Hotel in East London earlier this year were also responsible for the St. James massacre. A team of detectives yesterday showed parishioners a video tape of a previous service which could have been attended by the killers.

The getaway car was found yesterday with a bullet hole in the bonnet and blood stains inside. Hospitals and clinics are also being visited in the search for the killers. The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] says the ANC's [African National Congress] offer to assist in tracking down the killers involved in the church massacre contains an element of dishonesty and opportunism. The organization's director of publicity and information, Mr. Waters Toboti, was responding to a police statement saying they would accept any assistance, even from the PAC. Mr. Toboti said the ANC had never gone to such lengths when black people were killed in the townships. He said the PAC would not assist the police in their investigation.

#### Government Said Partly To Blame

MB2907123393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1055  
GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Johannesburg July 29 SAPA—The executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations [SAIRR], John Kane-Berman, charged on Thursday the government was partly to blame for violence such as the St. James Church massacre. "The government has released from prison people no better than those guilty of the weekend massacre, among them necklace executioners, policemen convicted of murder, the mass killer of innocent black people in Strijdom Square and also a man who killed innocent people by planting a car bomb outside a nightclub on the beach front in Durban, an act no less cowardly than the St. James's murders," he told members of the SA Britain Trade Association (Sabrita) in Johannesburg.

Mr. Kane-Berman said the government's "wholesale releases of criminals from prison not only showed contempt for the rule of law, the police, the judiciary and the community at large, but also conveyed a message that violence was to be condoned on grounds of political expediency".

To add insult to injury, he said, the government had forced indemnity legislation through Parliament that could be used "to protect killers as yet undisclosed". "Nobody should then be surprised that some people think they have a licence to slaughter people at prayer."

Mr. Kane-Berman also pointed out that political violence had cost the lives of more than 16,000 people since September 1984.

#### IFP Leader Reportedly Dies of Natural Causes After Arrest

MB2907163793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1505  
GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Johannesburg July 29 SAPA—A postmortem showed Khetisi Victor Kheswa, an Inkatha [IFP] leader on the Vaal [Transvaal] Triangle, died of natural causes two weeks ago after his arrest in connection with murder, police said on Thursday. In a brief statement, the SAP [South African Police] said the attorney-general had been informed of the results and no further steps were being considered.

The suspension on the three policemen in whose company Mr Kheswa had died had been lifted.

The statement did not say of what natural causes Mr Kheswa had died. He was arrested the weekend of his death. "The SAP trust that those who were quick to discredit the police, and assume us guilty before the matter was thoroughly investigated, will now reconsider their statements."

#### Increasing Calls for COSATU To Break With ANC Alliance

MB2307155493 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 23-29 Jul 93 p 21

[Report by Ferial Haffajee]

[Text] Sam Shilowa summed up the perception of political negotiations among his constituents when he joked at a press briefing "I must leave now; I've got to get to the World Trade Centre to sell out the workers."

While the Congress of South African Trade Unions' [COSATU] assistant general secretary meant it as a broadside to critics of COSATU's direction, it is a view which is leading to growing calls for the establishment of a Workers' Party.

Such a party would contest elections and take up working-class interests at a governmental level. The idea is coming not only from socialist organisations like the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) now, but from elements of COSATU's major affiliates.

Unions are calling for the splitting up of the African National Congress [ANC]/COSATU alliance after elections. Some are saying this should be followed by the establishment of a Workers' Party.

The view took the labour movement by surprise when it came from the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA)—the country's biggest trade union—which called for the formation of a working class party and for COSATU to convene a conference on socialism.

NUMSA believes that the SACP should join a Workers' Party along with other leftist organisations.

At its Easter conference, WOSA announced that it would lobby for a Mass Workers' Party. The call from both WOSA and NUMSA has generated much publicity because, says a senior member, "its an idea whose time has come."

"Only an independent Mass Workers' Party can halt and reverse the wholesale compromises of the interests of the working class by negotiators at the World Trade Centre," said WOSA chairman Neville Alexander in a statement. WOSA and other organisations on the left will use the election campaign to popularise the Workers' Party concept.

The SACP's Jeremy Cronin says: "The call for a Workers' Party is an understandable reaction, but it is the wrong one. There is confusion and demoralisation at negotiations which have dragged on for three years. Working-class formations and workers need to assert themselves more."

But this needs to be done "inside the movement ... or the ANC will be handed over to non-working class currents." The ANC has always had a working-class bias, he says and this "should percolate throughout the ANC."

If COSATU should break with the ANC it would become an economic and corporatist entity, added Cronin.

Duncan Innes, publisher of the INNES LABOUR BRIEF, says the trade union movement faces two options on the cusp of elections. It can either lobby for a Workers' Party or push for a reconstruction accord to extract commitments for a socio-economic programme from a future ANC government in return for votes.

Innes says the latter "is the more appropriate response. The ANC needs to be given an opportunity to see if they can deliver. To form a Workers' Party now is to jump the gun."

The Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union's weekend congress resolved that the alliance should split after elections for a constituent assembly and a new constitution is drawn up.

It did not go on to call for a Workers' Party, but sees the future of labour lying with tripartite negotiating structures.

Elements in the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCAWU) are likely to push for the formation of a Workers' Party too.

A recent discussion document written by the national education officer of the TGWU was vociferous in its criticism of COSATU's political direction, especially its proposed reconstruction accord with the ANC, SACP and others. While the education officer was disciplined for writing the paper as a union position paper, it has been supported from some branches in the union.

And at its weekend congress, SACCAWU's Wits [Witwatersrand] branch will propose a resolution saying that COSATU should not dictate whom workers in the federation should vote for.

But COSATU's National Union of Mineworkers is a more solid supporter of the alliance in general and of the SACP in particular. It is not likely to support calls for a Workers' Party. The federation's Food and Allied Workers' Union also "pledged its support for the principles and objectives of the SACP" at its congress earlier this month.

#### South African Press Review for 30 Jul MB3007141093

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

"Multiplicity of Causes" for Violence—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 30 July in a page 8 editorial notes that various observers and politicians have given their views on the causes of violence and their diagnoses makes for "confusing reading." Tokyo Sexwale of the African National Congress (ANC) blames "sinister forces," and Thabani Dlamini of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) blames the ANC's military wing, Spear of the Nation, "accusing it of attempting to destabilise the IFP." Local peace committee member, Con Roux, blames the violence on "out-of-control youths and juveniles who don't answer to any political group." The South African Police's Major Andre Venter believes the violence "seems to be part of a continuous struggle for power in the area between supporters of the ANC and the IFP." THE STAR concludes that "there is not one cause of the violence but a multiplicity of causes. Politicians seeking to make capital should remember that. They should acknowledge, first, that no one is blameless."

#### SOWETAN

Impending Municipal Strike Linked to Local Government "Chaos"—"It would be churlish to link the impending municipal strike to the chaos that has been allowed to perpetuate itself in black local government," says a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 30 July. "We will nonetheless be forced to make comparisons between the manner in which local politics is handled when it affects the white metropolitan areas as compared to what happens in black regions."

#### THE WEEKLY MAIL

"Lame Duck Government"—Writing in a page 29 article in Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 30 July-5 August, Phillip van Niekerk refers to the St. James' church shooting in Cape Town saying



"the government could hardly be accused of being galvanised into action." "The fact of the matter is that a lame duck government in Sebokeng is a lame duck government in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. The rot started a long time ago." "Whatever their excuses this week, the police have abdicated their role of effectively policing the violence. It was never clearer than last month when rightwing thugs invaded the World Trade Centre." Van Nickerk believes one of the reasons De Klerk's government is so immune from the normal yardsticks of responsible government is that its preordained role in the transition is to be the keeper of the keys to hand over after an election. The way the transition has been set in stone, the gang at the multiparty talks needs the NP [National Party] to remain the government, even if they have to carry them over the line. De Klerk argues that his hands are tied by negotiations. It amounts to a handy way of evading responsibility. Both the NP and the ANC are using the prerogative of the

harlot—a habit which the press is usually accused of—of exercising power without responsibility." "The failure of the NP to govern is an appalling inheritance to bequeath a new government. The breakdown of law and order in many townships, and the establishment of self-defence units and private armies, emerged out of the failure of the police to protect black communities."

Buthelezi "A Spoiler"—A page 30 editorial warns the time has come "to call Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's bluff." He is "playing a double strategy: preparing for elections while at the same time using Jonas Savimbi-like threats of withdrawal to try and force the hand of the constitution-drafters in his favour." The other parties at the talks have "bent over backwards—only to have their butts kicked. He must be exposed for what he is: a spoiler, more interested in ensuring he has a vested position of power than in bringing democracy, elections and a Bill of Rights."

## Angola

### UNITA Radio: U.S. Supplying War Materiel to MPLA

MB3007074493 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] The Voz do Galo Negro news desk has just received reports saying the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] government has imported large quantities of weapons to launch yet another military offensive against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. That war materiel comes from the West and also from Eastern countries. Corroborating those reports, the UNITA representative to the UN Headquarters in New York has said those weapons were supplied by the United States through third (?countries), and Asian as well as European countries.

Between January and the first half of this month, the MPLA-PT government spent \$2.5 billion to import sophisticated war materiel, which can in no way have been delivered for a much-claimed defense of Angola's territorial integrity. Instead, that war materiel will be used to destroy real opposition, democracy, and freedom in Angola.

### Correspondents on Military Situation in Cuito, Menongue

MB2907202893 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] The military situation continues [words indistinct] in different corners of the country. In Cuito, Bie Province, civilians continue to be the main victims of the shellings carried out by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. Heavy clashes took place in the city center this morning, from the main avenue to the Central Hospital area. Government forces continued to resist, however. Almost no one dares to leave their hideouts to search for food in order not to run the risk of being killed. Our correspondent in Cuito Abel Abreu reports:

[Begin Abreu recording] For listeners to have an idea of how many people are killed by the Black Cockerel's men, it is enough to say that today, for example, from 0700 to 0800, [words indistinct], 14 people were killed. Almost half of the more than 300 people wounded by UNITA shellings have died over the past 62 hours. An equal number of wounded could have the same fate over the next hours due to a lack of medicine and medical care. Thousands of civilians in Cuito continue to be thrown into hell without the least chance of going through purgatory. What sin have these people committed? Perhaps only God knows. The city streets are practically covered with shells [words indistinct] which did not escape the wrath of enemy guns. [end recording]

In Menongue, Cuando Cubango Province, UNITA soldiers are preparing a large-scale attack on the city which could take place any time now. Our correspondent Freitas Manuel reports:

[Begin Manuel recording] The military situation in Menongue continues to be tense and the rebels have increasingly been preparing themselves to carry out a violent attack on the city in the next few hours. Enemy forces have been moving troops and vehicles in different directions of the city and according to Brigadier Sa Miranda, the government forces' commander in Cuando Cubango, the situation could worsen soon.

We have also learned that UNITA has decided to divide its forces into small groups to plant explosive devices against military and social targets and for its customary activities of looting farmers for logistics, laying ambushes, and kidnapping civilians. Brig. Sa Miranda also said that government forces continue to stop, with distinction and heroism, the march of the rebels who are trying at all costs to tighten the siege and launch a final assault.

Meanwhile, the people who have been deprived of going to their farms to pick food over the past seven months because of mines and ambushes mounted by UNITA, continue to experience famine, a situation which is responsible for the high infant mortality rate in Menongue. [end recording]

### Opposition Leader: Government Must Buy Arms From Abroad

MB3007111393 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is preparing a major attack on the city of Menongue. Sa Miranda, Angolan Armed Forces commander for Cuando Cubango Province, has reported that UNITA is moving men and equipment in all directions, leading to forecasts that the military situation in the area might worsen. The situation also seems set to deteriorate in Cuito, though governmental forces continue to control the city. The serious military situation throughout Angolan territory is a source of grave concern to the country's authorities, who believe there is no way out of it other than buying weapons from abroad to fight Jonas Savimbi's war machine. Yesterday, Miguel Sebastiao, Angola Youth, Worker, and Peasant Alliance Party president, went to Luanda's Futungo de Belas Palace to convey that belief to Angolan Head of State Jose Eduardo dos Santos:

[Begin Sebastiao recording] The meeting was a very important one. His Excellency President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and I discussed issues relating to the country's current political and military situation. We think that the troika of Angolan peace process observers has given the go ahead to the government to reequip its Army. Above all, the scrapping of the Triple Zero

Clause, which forbade Angola from acquiring war materiel, shows that the international community is aware of the fact that Angola must defend itself. One party is waging war against the citizens. As I have pointed out, we have a sovereign country and we are entitled to defend our sovereignty. [end recording]

### Namibia

#### Walvis Bay Right-Wingers Prefer SWAPO to ANC Government

MB3007072593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2147 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Windhoek July 29 SAPA—Walvis Bay right-wingers are hoping to establish an independent non-racial state out of the harbour enclave rather than live under either a Namibian or new South African Government.

But if an independence bid fails, they would choose Namibia's SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] government before life under the African National Congress, local Conservative Party [CP] Vice-President Otto Mack said in an interview on Thursday.

Mr Mack is laying plans for a democratic referendum to test the will of all South Africans in the fishing and harbour town, and plans to consult his CP leaders at the weekend to hear their plans for the territory.

He said Walvis Bay and its satellite towns Narraville and Kuisebmond generated enough income through taxes to finance itself as a tiny independent country.

Right-wing fears were mounting that "the National Party could give us away any day now", and Mr Mack said they did not expect much money to come their way under an ANC or SWAPO government.

Most residents wanted little to do with violent South Africa. "It's a sick country."

And Walvis Bay would suffer under the type of affirmative action implemented by Namibia, Mr Mack maintained, adding that most people feared the standard of education would drop.

The independence plan would create a non-racial state based on harbour activities and fishing, with substantial foreign investment and a ban on trade unions, Mr Mack said.

#### Exporter Claims Trading With UNITA Legal

MB2907134093 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English 26 Jul 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Tom Minney]

[Text] Import-Export man Cohen van Zyl admits trading food and other goods with Angola's UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement

but says this was legal until the Namibian Government banned aid airlifts in January.

Van Zyl claims the Namibians had allowed trade after being approached by a UNITA general after a May 1991 ceasefire.

He said his company, Namibia Import Export, also supplied millions of rands of goods to the Angolan government including parachutes to drop food containers in areas too risky for the United Nations.

"It's not illegal. I trade with both partners, there's no law saying you can't trade with Angola. Money is money, it doesn't matter."

Van Zyl denied delivering 60,000 litres of diesel as reported in THE NAMIBIAN on Friday, and said he was still negotiating this and trying to find a legal way to take the things in. He had approached Safair and been referred to a Russian company but nothing had happened until a legal delivery could be made.

He admitted being arrested early this month, carrying 4,000 litres of diesel on the way to the Angolan border near Bagani in the Caprivi. However, he said he was taking the fuel to some trucks at Buffalo base in Namibia and was asleep when his driver turned left to the north, instead of right to the base.

Van Zyl first got to know south-eastern Angola when he got a contract to deliver food for the United Nations World Food Programme under a special relief programme for Angola. Under an agreement to allow "corridors of peace" he went in even before the cease-fire and said he got to know people well in Jamba.

It was these trucks which were still stranded at Buffalo which he wanted to repair and bring to Windhoek, he said.

Van Zyl said his main contacts were Generals Begin and Vigs, also known as Vinama, and telephone and fax links to UNITA headquarters are easy. According to him, UNITA did not import beer or even cool drinks, just necessities.

He said they had enough food but were very keen to get fuel to distribute food, and not for the war which is 1,200 kilometres away.

Van Zyl admitted there was no border post on his route from Namibia to south-eastern Angola and confirmed a communication asking for dollars paid in advance to cover the risk of taking in goods and to avoid going through the central bank as the bank would require Angolan government stamps.

However, he denied he had ever been paid in U.S. dollars and said although UNITA had plenty of dollars from sales of diamonds to a friendly government, which was not in Africa, he had always received rand. He denied having bribed Zambian authorities.



Van Zyl is well-connected and has close contacts with senior SWAPO [South West African Peoples Organization] leaders dating back to 1989. He also says he has a long relationship with both UNITA and the Angolan Government and supplying goods to Lubango and Benguela: "You say this is UNITA, this is MPLA...to me its Angola".

### Mozambique

#### Renamo Rejects Draft Electoral Law; Monamo Head Comments

MB3007103093 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Report by Radio Mozambique correspondent Emilio Manhique including statements by Jose de Castro, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, team to the meeting for discussing the Draft Electoral Law; National Convention Party leader Lutero Simango; Antonio Palange of the Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party; and Mozambican Nationalist Movement leader Maximo Dias, in Maputo on 29 July]

[Text] [Manhique] The Mozambique National Resistance has thwarted any hopes that the Electoral Law might finally be discussed today. When [Renamo member] Jose de Castro read his statement this morning, nothing hinted at the tempest that was about to come, if we may be forgiven for using this expression. Not even the list of alleged accusations made against the government—which government officials (?calmly) listened to—suggested that Renamo would once again seek every possible means to postpone discussions on the Draft Electoral Law. When, later, Jose de Castro took more than one hour to present his party's reading of the Draft Electoral Law, participants began to take the matter seriously.

[Begin de Castro recording] Finally, it must be stressed that this proposed law was wholly drafted in disrespect of the General Peace Accord. This is a unilateral attempt by the government to impose its will and, as such, it is contrary to the terms of the Preamble of Protocol 3 as well as Part 5, Number 3, Paragraph B, Number 1 and Part 6, Paragraphs B and C; and Part 1, Number 2, Paragraphs C and D of Protocol 5, all in the General Peace Accord [word indistinct] guaranteed that the Electoral Law must be drafted in consultation with Renamo and other political parties. We think that it was for this and other reasons that the 12 emergent opposition parties [words indistinct] of the National Convention Party, PCN, on 27 April, refused to enter into discussions with the government concerning the Draft Electoral Law. Renamo would now like to state that it does not accept the Draft Electoral Law for the reasons which have been given here.

In view of that, Renamo would like to call on UN Special Representative Mr. Aldo Ajello urgently to establish a working commission including representatives from the

government, Renamo, and other parties. That commission must be made responsible for drawing up the draft law and must benefit from the assistance of UN-appointed electoral law experts. Thank you very much. [end recording]

[Manhique] UN Special Representative Aldo Ajello said that, to him, Renamo's proposal is something new and added that, were he to take that proposal into consideration, he would have to inform immediately the UN secretary general and the UN Security Council. He emphasized that the immediate consequence of delaying the approval of the Draft Electoral Law will be that elections will not be held in October of next year. Ajello said the Draft Electoral Law provides groundwork for discussions and may be altered in accordance with the concerns and wishes voiced by the parties. The UN special representative added that a suspension in Draft Electoral Law discussions will be a terrible sign to the Mozambican people and to the international community. Ajello called on Jose de Castro and his team to continue attending the talks and to present whatever amendments they deemed fit for discussion.

It did not take long for calls to be made on Renamo to reconsider its stance. The first such call came from Lutero Simango, of the PCN:

[Begin Simango recording] As I have said before, a foundation is already in place. A draft law has been drawn up. We do not all agree with that draft law. In concrete terms, the PCN does not agree with that draft law, but has accepted to use it as groundwork so that a law will emerge that will be based on consensus. That law must come out of this. I believe that this forum will have greater powers than the Assembly of the Republic or the government. This is a matter of coming here to hold open and frank talks so consensus can be achieved. If that function [words indistinct] yesterday [words indistinct] (?we would not have gone) today. We agree on (?pluralism). That is an accepted principle. Thus, the PCN believes that conditions are in place for open discussions. Once again, we would like to call on Renamo to accept the draft law. [end recording]

[Manhique] Antonio Palange, of the Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party, Palmo, has said he does not understand Renamo's new stance and added that, in his opinion, it could compromise the spirit of national reconciliation.

[Begin Palange recording] We know that Renamo is a signatory to the General Peace Accord. We have been left with that accord and Rome now belongs in the past. Today, we are here as political parties. Renamo and the government are here to draw the text of the law in accordance with the methodology. Despite the fact that we had been working with Renamo, the majority was not informed about its new stance. On behalf of the Palmo, I do not grasp this new stance adopted by Renamo. It



could compromise the spirit of national reconciliation and the country's democratization process. [end recording]

[Manhique] Maximo Dias, president of the Mozambican Nationalist Movement [Monamo] Party, has said these discussions will not lead to a perfect Draft Electoral Law but, rather, a draft law that will permit the holding of the elections that are possible in Mozambique.

[Begin Dias recording] I would simply like to say that we, in Monamo, understand the legitimate reasons behind Renamo's call. Its concerns are just, but we regret that they did not make that call on the UN special representative last May, when they had already adopted that stance, but decided instead to make it now. I would also like to say that, though this is a powerful national meeting, I would like to reiterate everything that has been said by the PCN representative, along with the convincing appeal Dr. Aldo Ajello made to us all to start working on this draft law. We all know—Monamo is certainly very aware of it—that this draft law will not result in the law we all democratically wish for. This is only the law that is possible under the circumstances, because we are parties which were not consulted concerning the signing of the General Peace Accord in Rome. All diplomatic representatives, the international community as a whole should be aware that the upcoming elections will not be democratic yet. They will be the elections that will be possible. In view of the fact that they are the elections which are possible, they must be enshrined in the Rome general accord. That is precisely why the Rome general accord must function. Once again, we would like to urge the Renamo team to continue this work. Despite the fact that we are all unhappy that we cannot do the work we would all like to be doing, let us nonetheless participate in this work so we can help reconcile the two Rome accord signatories. Our role is simply a conciliatory one. We are not here to produce what we would have liked to produce. That is because we are bound by the Rome general accord. I hope Renamo will listen to our call. Thank you very much. [end recording]

[Manhique] Those calls fell on deaf ears and the meeting has been postponed to 2 August. The question which must finally be asked is why Renamo is so interested in delaying Draft Electoral Law discussions as much as possible. Some observers have told us that, deep down, this may be a sign that war might resume in Mozambique. Let us wait and see how things will develop.

#### **Renamo Ends Talks Boycott**

*MB3007112993 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 30 Jul 93*

[Text] The UN special representative in Mozambique, Aldo Ajello, says Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels have agreed to end their boycott of the multiparty consultative conference on Mozambique's future electoral law. On Thursday [29 July], the Renamo delegation had walked out of the conference, after

accusing the government of violating last October's peace accord (?in) the draft bill it had presented as a basis for discussions. Mr. Ajello told a news (?conference) in Maputo today that he had spoken about this latest crisis in a phone call after midnight to Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama at his [word indistinct] headquarters in the central district of Maringue.

Mr. Ajello said Renamo accepted his appeal that they would resume immediately the work of the conference and that they would accept the government's text as a basis. The UN special representative had warned Renamo on Thursday that their demand for a commission to write a new draft was bound to derail the timetable for the peace process and would make it impossible to hold the country's first multiparty elections by October next year.

Mr. Ajello said that if it were technically possible, the consultative conference could resume this afternoon. He also confirmed that Dhlakama intends to visit Maputo for his much postponed meeting with President Joaquim Chissano at the end of next week. There are problems that nobody can solve, except the two of them., Mr. Ajello said.

#### **More Details on Chissano's Address to Rally in Pemba**

##### **Comments on Counterinsurgency Forces**

*MB2907122293 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] Addressing a popular rally in Pemba, at the end of his visit to Cabo Delgado Province, President Joaquim Chissano has said peace has come to Mozambique to stay forever. [passage omitted]

He said the Naparama [government-sponsored counterinsurgency unit] forces must be disarmed and helped to reintegrate into society. President Joaquim Chissano said this at a meeting with national liberation war veterans in Cabo Delgado Province. He said that the Naparama forces are now demanding to be demobilized like governmental or Mozambique National Resistance soldiers, but their formation had been voluntary and for self-defense purposes.

#### **Hopes To Meet Dhlakama in August**

*MB2907123793 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Text] The Mozambican president, Joaquim Chissano, has announced that he hopes to meet with the leader of the former rebel Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] movement, Afonso Dhlakama, in the capital, Maputo, in early August. At the final day of his visit to the northern province of Cabo Delgado, President Chissano told a mass rally the Renamo leader had not given him an exact date for the meeting. Mr. Dhlakama had failed to turn up for the meeting with President Chissano in the northern city of Lichinga (?in April). Then, Mr.

Dhlakama announced that the meeting would definitely take place in Maputo on 17 July, but the week before this meeting was to happen, the Renamo leader unilaterally postponed it and demanded that Renamo members be appointed as governors of several of Mozambique's 11 provinces but, under strong diplomatic pressure, he has now withdrawn any preconditions for the meeting.

#### **Dhlakama Gives 'Priority' To Meeting With Chissano**

*MB2907123593 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] Afonso Dhlakama, Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader, has canceled trips to Gaza, Inhambane, and Maputo to give priority to his Maputo meeting with President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano. This has been disclosed by a Renamo spokesman.

That source added no date has been set yet for the meeting. [passage omitted covered by referent item]

#### **Government Sends 50 Soldiers for Training in Zimbabwe**

*MB3007053893 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1800 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Text] The Mozambican Government has already sent its contingent of 50 officers to Zimbabwe to start training as military instructors for the Mozambican Defense Force. The new defense force is to be set up under the Rome peace agreement between the government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. A spokesman for the Mozambican Army Command told the MOZAMBIQUE NEWS AGENCY today that the 50 officers left Maputo on Sunday [25 July] to travel via Beira to the training camp run by a British military team at Nyanga in eastern Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, the Renamo leader has said that he is sending his 50 members to Zimbabwe on the 2d of August to be trained as military instructors. It is expected that by December, 540 instructors will be ready to play a key role in training the new Mozambican Army on Mozambican soil. The training at Nyanga should have started in March. The government was ready to send its men but Renamo systematically delayed the training.

#### **Renamo To Send 50 Soldiers**

*MB2907060593 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Text] The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] has decided to send 50 soldiers to Zimbabwe's Nyanga Military Training Center on 2 August so they can be trained as instructors in Mozambique's future unified army. A spokesman in the Renamo presidency told Radio Mozambique that this was decided by the Renamo leadership in Maringue. That source also disclosed that Raul Domingos, head of the Renamo team to

the Supervision and Control Commission, has been holding talks with UN officials and some ambassadors in Maputo concerning security preparations for Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama's upcoming visit to the Mozambican capital. The source said the date for that visit has not been set yet and will depend on the outcome of those meetings.

Meanwhile, Foreign Affairs Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi has criticized Renamo for not explaining the reasons preventing it from beginning its troop confinement and demobilization process. Mocumbi was speaking during an audience he granted to an Islamic Development Bank team in Maputo. The Islamic Development Bank team was led by (Abdel Wahad Gazala), who announced that \$1.8 million would be given to the Mozambique Islamic Council for social projects, including the construction of schools and Islamic centers in Maputo, Nampula, and Angoche.

#### **Zimbabwe**

#### **Government Sets Aside Money for Land Acquisition**

*MB3007144593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1116 GMT 30 Jul 93*

[Text] Harare July 30 SAPA—Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's government has set aside ZD[Zimbabwe dollar]20-million for the acquisition of land under its controversial plan to seize five million hectares of white-owned farms for the resettlement of black peasant farmers, according to details of government spending plans tabled in Parliament with Thursday's budget. The sum is under the heading purchase and compensation: rural land in the estimates of expenditure, and is up ZD5-million on last year.

Officials of the Commercial Farmers' Union would not comment, but estate agents dealing in farm land said the amount was "nowhere near" enough to cover the market price of the 190,000ha of 70 commercial farms the government officially "designated" for seizure in May. "It can mean either that the noise the government has been making about land in the last couple of months is empty rhetoric, or it can mean that the government has no intention of paying anything like the real market price," said one agent, who asked not to be named. Legislation passed last March gives the government the right to set its own price for land, and specifically bars landowners from suing the government for being unfairly compensated.

#### **Military Share of Budget Viewed**

*MB3007145193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1109 GMT 30 Jul 93*

[Text] Harare July 30 SAPA—Military spending dominated the Zimbabwe Government's spending on construction programmes in the coming year, with a budget of ZD[Zimbabwe dollar]200-million for new and

upgraded barracks for the Army, improved airfields and a new air defence and radar system, according to documents tabled in Parliament with Thursday's budget.

Estimates of expenditure for 1993/94 show that after a combined wages bill for Defence Headquarters, the Zimbabwe National Army and the Air Force of Zimbabwe of ZD942-million, nearly all the balance of the Defence Ministry vote of ZD1,532-million is left for the construction programme and a budget described simply as "aircraft procurement" of ZD154-million.

The construction budget, up ZD26-million on last year and the biggest provided for in the budget, with ZD81-million for schools for the Ministry of Education and ZD74-million for the Ministry of Health trailing far behind, is mostly for "works in progress" on buildings at

nine separate Army bases. The programme follows criticism of the appalling facilities for the 54,000-strong Army, which authorities announced recently was to be cut by 10,000 men in line with cost-saving measures.

The Air Force gets ZD58-million for "new works," mostly buildings at its main Thornhill Airbase near the midlands city of Gweru and the Manyame Airbase just west of Harare. Another ZD18-million is for the Air Force's "air defence project" started last year with an expenditure then of ZD18-million and goes to buildings for radars, a command centre at Gweru, maintenance centres and 12 anti-aircraft gun positions and communication positions. The project is believed to be part of a 105-million US dollar deal signed with the Chinese Government in 1989 for air defences that included radar, aircraft and missiles. Since then, the Air Force has taken delivery of about six MiG 19 jet fighters.



## Nigeria

### **Babangida Receives Catholic Bishops, Legislators on Crisis**

*AB2907230093 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 29 Jul 93*

[Text] A delegation of Catholic bishops in Nigeria today visited President Babangida to express their views on the peaceful resolution of the country's political crisis. State House correspondent Biyi Alabi reports that the bishops were led by Cardinal Dominic Ekandem:

[Begin recording] [Alabi] The delegation, representing different dioceses in the country, includes Archbishop Anthony Okogie, Lagos; Archbishop Peter Jatau, Kaduna; Bishop John Onaikan, Abuja; Bishop Gabriel Ganaka, Jos; and Bishop Albert Obeifuna, Awka. Also at the closed-door meeting were Vice President Augustus Aikhomu and the chief of defense staff and secretary of defense, Lieutenant General Sani Abacha. Archbishop Okoje spoke on the meeting:

[Okoje] It seems as if the popular position is that of the 12 June election. There are other options as well apart from the 12 June one and I feel the Military Government, they too they are aware of all the options. It is (?up to) them now to choose which will suit the country better.

[Alabi] He described as unjustifiable the exodus of Nigerians to their states of origin because of the current political situation. The archbishop also joined other Nigerians in decrying foreign interference in the internal problems of the country.

[Okoje] They should mind their own business and allow us to mind ours! Because the situation in the country will be only aggravated by other people trying to come in, I mean, other powers trying to come in .

[Alabi] The men of God appealed to Nigerians to remain calm, keep the peace, and continue to pray, saying with God nothing is impossible.

A delegation of the Bauchi State House of Assembly also called at the Presidential Villa today to present their resolution paper, calling on the president not to hand over in a chaotic situation. The resolution was received on the president's behalf by the secretary to government of the federation, Alhaji Alihu Mohamed.

Mr. Mustapha Ahmed, speaker and leader of the delegation, said the elections slated for 14 August as well as the 27 August hand over date are unrealistic. The 46-member House, which said Nigeria must remain an indivisible entity, observed that any attempt to hand over to any person, not legitimately or properly elected, may cause chaos in the country.

The delegation called on the president to curb the excesses of the Association for Better Nigeria for its anti-democracy campaign. Alhaji Alihu said that the legislators' contribution would assist government in finding an amicable solution to the situation. He restated President Babangida's commitment to putting in place lasting democracy in the country. [end recording]

### **NEC Denies Endorsing Decision To Form Interim Government**

*AB3007083093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 30 Jul 93*

[Text] The National Electoral Commission [NEC] says it was not part of the resolution of the two political parties to form an interim national government as a solution to the current political problem. The statement by the Commission in Abuja yesterday explained that the true position as contained in the communique was that NEC only noted the joint position of the two parties. It said the Commission also promised to convey their resolution to the federal government for consideration.

**END OF**

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